THE

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE

AND

JOURNAL OF
THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EDITED BY

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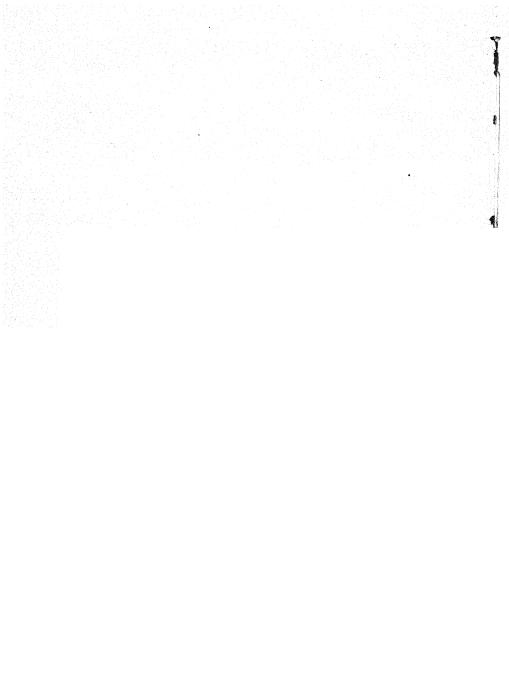
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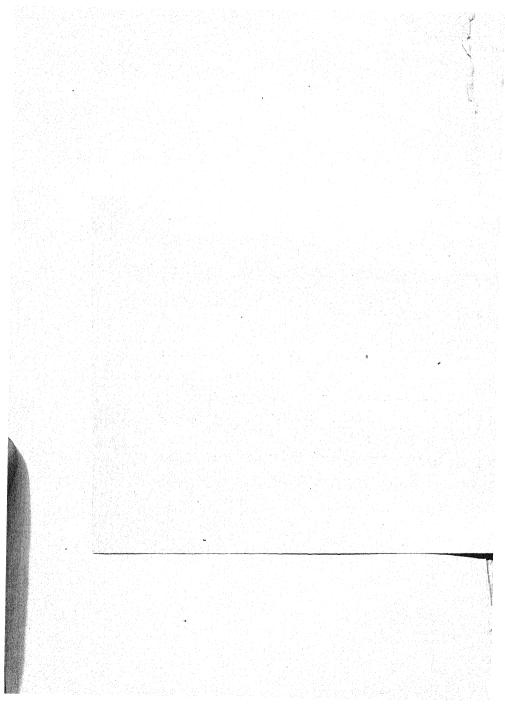
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ANCIENT METHODS OF COINING.

[SEE PLATE I.]

The notes which follow have been made in preparation for a chapter on the subject in a work on ancient coinage which, I hope, may some day find its way into print. This will account for the inclusion among them of a certain amount of elementary information; but to omit it would destroy the cohesion of the text, such as it is. The problems which are presented by the fabric of ancient coins are such that they can only be resolved by joint investigation on the part of numismatists and practical die-engravers; and it is with the object of obtaining the opinion of the latter (some of whom, as Mr. Harold Stabler and Mr. Cecil Thomas,* have already given me much valuable assistance) that I am setting forth such observations as I have been able to make.

The modern coin is produced by the pressure of an engraved die on prepared blanks by means of highly specialized machinery. The methods employed by antiquity were much simpler. Ancient coins were sometimes produced in one single process, by casting in a mould; but this process was properly reserved for larger pieces, and the usual method was to strike them with a sledge hammer, the blank, however

^{*} Mr. Thomas has recently published in the Watchmaker and Jeweller, 1921, pp. 126-34, some interesting remarks on the subject from the craftsman's point of view.

prepared, being placed between engraved dies on which the hammer was brought down by hand.

Let us first deal with the coins for which the process of casting alone was employed, although chronologically they do not come first.1 The mould in which the molten metal was cast could be made either in some hard material, in which it was carved, such as stone or wood, or in a soft material, such as clay or sand, into which a model was pressed, the mould being afterwards baked in order to harden it. Pliny² speaks of certain siliceous stones, unaffected by fire, from which moulds were made for casting bronze. The grain of the wooden mould in which certain British bronze coins were cast is distinctly perceptible on the coins themselves (Pl. I, 1).3 The second method was, however, much the easier, and was probably most frequently employed. An existing coin could be used as a model, and thus repeated an indefinite number of times. The points at which the metal entered the mould are frequently perceptible at the edges of the coins, when the makers have not taken the trouble to trim them. Not uncommonly the coins were cast en chapelet. That is to say, a series of moulds for one side of the coin were made on a plate of stone, or on a flat slab of clay, side by side, a channel being drawn from mould to mould, to allow the metal to pass from one to the other. The moulds for the other side were made in a corresponding slab, with corresponding channels. The two slabs were then adjusted

¹ Hill, Handbook, pp. 155-7; Babelon, Traité, i, pp. 949-66. For Roman coins especially, see M. Bahrfeldt in Berliner Münzblätter, 1904, pp. 433 ff.

² N. H., xxxvi, pp. 49, 168.

³ J. Evans, Coins of the Ancient Britons (1864), pp. 123 f. These coins are bronze, not tin (Num. Chron., 1917, pp. 316 f.).

and clamped together, and the metal poured in. The finished coins were then broken off, and chopped or clipped with scissors from the resulting "tree", and the marks of such methods of division are often patent (Pl. I, 2, a Gaulish cast coin).

Another method—and this was especially employed for casting Roman coins in the third century of the Empire—was to make impressions of the two sides of a coin in a roundel of fine clay, bind a number of these roundels, obverse to reverse, in columns; carve a trough down the edge of the column so as to give the metal admission to the interior of the mould; and so cast. Large quantities of such moulds have been found in Gaul, Germany, Britain, Switzerland, Lower Austria, Egypt, Tunisia.⁵ The most remarkable case was at Damery (Marne). Here, among the ruins of a building that had been destroyed by fire, were discovered 3,900 pieces of Constans I and Constantius II all of one reverse type (Phoenix), mostly with the mint-mark of Augusta Trevirorum, some with that of Lugdunum, and one with that of Siscia. But from their appearance it was clear that they had all been made on the spot.6 And in the immediate neighbour-

⁴ A somewhat similar process seems to have been used for casting Chersono-Byzantine coins of the tenth century. See D. N. Kosciuszko-Walużynicz in Numism. Miscellany of Moscow Num. Soc., iii, 1914, on Technique of Coinage at Chersonesus Taurica, pp. 4 ff. of separate impression. The process was also in use in China for the casting of copper cash down to the end of the nineteenth century.

⁵ There is a considerable literature on this subject; but see especially L. Cesano, "Intorno alle forme da fondere monete imperiali romane," in *Rassegna Numism.*, May-Nov. 1912, and G. Dattari, in *Riv. Ital.*, xxvi (1913), pp. 484-509 (Egyptian material).

⁶ Cp. the cast tin coins from the Bar Hill, on the Roman Wall in Scotland (G. Macdonald and A. Park, *The Roman Forts on the Bar Hill*, Glasgow, 1906, pp. 109-10).

hood were discovered the remains of a moneyer's workshop, including several groups of moulds such as we have described.

The process of casting was one cause of the degradation of the standard and style of coins. Metal shrinks while cooling, and a coin (B) which has been produced by casting in a mould made by impressing another coin (A), will be slightly smaller than A. This shrinkage will be almost imperceptible, but if a third (C) is made from B, and a fourth (D) from C. D will probably be perceptibly smaller and lighter than A. In the case of large coins, like the Roman Republican heavy bronze, the steady degradation in size and weight which has so much agitated historians may have been partly due to this cause. Of the effect of such casting on style (if that word can be used of such primitive designs) we have a curious example in the cast British coins of the Hengistbury Head type. There is a gradual simplification of the design. One coin was used as a model for others, by pressing into clay. A coin on which one of the pellets or lines which compose the type had failed owing to faulty casting, would make a mould from which that pellet or line was lacking. Thus the simplification went on. This is an extreme case, but it is obvious that blurring of detail was a necessary result whenever mass production by casting was practised.

A few of these coins from Hengistbury Head were hammered after they emerged from the mould, possibly with the object of making them look more like the struck coins of similar types current at the time.

If the Romans in the third century used the casting

⁷ Num. Chron., 1911, pp. 42-56.

process in the West for reproducing their coins, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the practice obtained in the Eastern provinces. But it was by no means so common. Cast coins of various mints of Asia Minor (especially Samos) are, however, often met with, and it is improbable that they should all be the work of modern forgers.⁸

The Greek word for casting $(\chi\omega\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\nu)$, $\delta\iota\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu)$ is not found used in connexion with coinage, as is but natural, since the process was but exceptionally employed for coinage among Greeks. But the earliest Roman bronze coinage is described as flatum. Long after the Romans had given up the use of cast coinage the triumvirs responsible for the currency kept the title of "triumvirs for the casting and striking of bronze, silver, and gold". This is partly a mere survival; the order in which the metals are mentioned, being the order in which they actually came into use for coinage, shows this. But also it records the fact that these triumvirs were responsible for the refining and casting of the metal out of which the blanks, afterwards to be struck, were made.

⁸ A coin of Sillyum in Pamphylia, cast from a struck piece, is less worn in places than its original, which therefore probably circulated after the cast was made. This seems to indicate that the cast is ancient. *Handbook*, p. 157. A number of the small third-century coins of Bostra in Roman Arabia seem to be cast (B. M. C., *Arabia*, &c., p. 23, Nos. 35 f.).

⁹ Varro, R. R., ii. 1, 9; cp. Gell. ii. 10, 3.

¹⁰ Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, on his denarii (about 76-72 B.C.), is described as $Cur(ator) \not = (denariis) \not = f(andis)$; and the denarii of P. Flaminius Chilo (about 43 B.C.) bear the inscription $IIIIvir\ pri(mus)\ \not= f(avit)$ —according to the most probable explanation. The title $IIIvir\ aere\ argento\ auro\ f(ando\ feriundo\ is\ common\ on the Republican and early Augustan coinage (B. M. C., Roman Republican Coins, iii, Index, p. 83).$

We now proceed to consider the much more complicated process of striking.¹¹ The first stage was the preparation of the blanks. These were usually cast by one of the processes already described. Traces of the processes, which were not always obliterated in the subsequent stages, enable us to particularize. The most remarkable peculiarity is one which is especially characteristic of early Sicilian coins.¹² On many of these there are to be seen ridge-shaped projections at two diametrically opposed points of the edge. It appears that the blank was cast in a spherical mould,





Fig. 1.

made of two hemispherical halves. The metal flowed into the joint between the two halves, making a sort of equatorial ridge round the blank. "If the blank was placed on the anvil in such a position that the ridge was in a horizontal plane, then the ridge would be preserved all round the edge of the coin. But this would have produced a thin ragged edge to the coin; more usually, therefore, the plane of the ridge was

¹¹ Greek χαράττειν, ἐπιχαράττειν (though these two words strictly refer to the engraving of the design on the die, rather than to the impressing of it on the blank), κόπτειν, τυποῦν, σημαίνειν; Latin ferire, cudere, percutere. Signare could be used of any coin bearing a type, whether struck or cast. Of the old literature on the technique of striking, I may refer to Blümner, Technologie, iv, pp.258-9; my Handbook, pp.143-51; Babelon, Traité, i, pp.897-947.

¹² F. de Villenoisy, Congrès int. de Num., Paris, 1900, p. 60, says he has noticed it not only in Sicily and Magna Graecia, but in Macedon, Acarnania, Athens, Aspendus, Corinth, and in bronze coins of Pyrrhus.

inclined, or even vertical, so that only two small projections remained after striking." ¹³ Fig. 1 shows the appearance of such a blank before and after being struck; the drawings have been made from a wax model before and after being pressed flat.

The fact that a globe of metal retains heat longer than a disk may explain the fact that the blanks were made of a shape that would seem to place so much strain on the dies, instead of something more like the shape of the finished coin. The latter method was certainly employed by most other parts of the Greek world. The lentoid shape of the blanks of the early electrum of Asia Minor, for instance, has hardly been altered under the pressure of the dies.

Such blanks as have been preserved from Greek times are as a rule very much of the shape of the actual coins—only rather thicker, as a rule, since the metal flattened and spread under the hammer (Pl. I, 3). 14

The method of casting en chapelet above described was also widely employed for making blanks, especially in the late second and first centuries B.C. in the Eastern Mediterranean. When the coins were small—as in the series of the Hasmonaean kings of the

¹³ Hill, Coins of Ancient Sicily, p. 4, note. Blümner, Techn., iv, p. 259, first correctly explained the process. In my Handbook, p. 155, note 3, I failed to understand his explanation, which is not clear unless it is realized that the blank is more or less spherical.

¹⁴ E. g. the silver blank for an "incuse" coin of Magna Graecia from the Taranto Hoard, now in the British Museum (Pl. I, 3); or the bronze blanks from the Smyrna find (Essays in honour of W. Ridgeway, 1913); of these one is flat on one side, convex on the other, and one is cast in a cylindrical mould (not cut, as it would at first seem to be, from a cylindrical rod); the others are just flat dumps. Cp. also the silver blank from a find of British coins (Num. Chron., 1911, Pl. v, 16). Other blanks from Gaul: Babelon, Traité, i, pp. 928-9.

Jews—but also frequently when they were large, little trouble was taken to trim off the runners (Pl. I, 4).¹⁵

Judging from their shape, it would seem that blanks such as those just described were cast in open moulds. The mould was slightly less in diameter at the bottom than at the top, so that on turning it over the blanks would the more easily drop out. Blanks thus cast have therefore bevelled edges. They are characteristic of Syria and Egypt, but are also found elsewhere. The street of the street

The bevelled edge produced by the shape of the mould must not be confused with the hammered bevelling which is noticeable on certain large Greek coins, 18 especially on the "spread" tetradrachms of

¹⁵ See, for instance, the coins of King Antigonus, B. M. C., *Palestine*, Pl. xxiii; Nos. 1 and 11; and the North Arabian imitations of Athenian coins, B. M. C., *Arabia*, &c., Pl. lv, 2-9 (here Pl. I, 4).

¹⁶ Or at any rate in moulds which were merely covered over with a plate, which often did not fit closely, but allowed the metal to overflow.

¹⁷ E.g., in Italy, Bahrfeldt, op. cit., p. 435. Babelon (Traité, i, p. 942), if I understand him aright, supposes this bevelled edge to have been produced by a cutting instrument; but these edges are clearly cast, not cut.

¹⁸ The process is described by Dressel, Fünf Goldmedaillons aus dem Funde von Abukir (Abh. Berl. Akad., 1906, pp. 70-1), and, with more imagination, by Eddé in Lenzi's Rassegna Numism. (Orbetello), iii, 1906, pp. 76-80. Besides the medallions of Tarsus and Abukir, Dressel instances tetradrachms of Cyme and Myrina in Aeolis, Heraclea, Lebedus, Magnesia and Smyrna in Ionia, and Orophernes, king of Cappadocia. It is strange that this process, characteristic of the second century B.C., should have been revived for the much later medallions in question. Dressel, it is true, holds that the hammering on these earlier coins was (1) done only on the obverse side (which is clearly contradicted by the coins themselves) and (2) was done after striking (which appears to me to be unproven and unlikely).

Ionia and Aeolis of the second century B.C. (Pl. I, 7, of Cyme in Aeolis). It is possible that all blanks which show signs of having been hammered in this way were really older coins, and that the object of the hammering was to obliterate the original design. Thus the spread tetradrachms of Ionia were perhaps originally Alexandrines.

Hammering was also employed occasionally to obliterate the rough or rugged edges of blanks; it is found in some of the thick coins issued by Mazaeus in Cilicia or N. Syria, in some of the double darics ascribed to Babylon after the fall of the Persian Empire, and on some early Seleucid coins of Eastern mintage; so that it may be regarded as a regional fashion.

It has been supposed that the central holes which are to be observed on many ancient coins, especially on those which have the bevelled edge, were due to their having been turned on a lathe to trim them, the hole being made by a pointed chuck. A gross example is a coin of Seleucia on the Tigris (Pl. I, 5).²⁰ This theory is denied by Bahrfeldt, at any rate for the Italian examples, since, he observes, the edges of the holes show no signs of compression; in fact he says he has even noticed a burr or swelling round the edge, which points to their having been made after striking. In any case the theory that the hole was made by

¹⁹ Mr. E. S. G. Robinson's suggestion. Dressel's and Eddé's theory, that the object of hammering was to densify the metal (which may have been porous after casting) and to make the blank convex, so as to fit it for receiving an impression in high relief, is unnecessary; the shape could have been obtained by casting, and the blows of the die would densify the metal, if that was necessary.

²⁰ B. M. C., Arabia, &c., Pl. xxiii. 16.

a pin inserted in the die to grip the blank is absurd; of two coins of Tripolis from the same pair of dies, one has the holes, the other not (B. M. C., Phoenicia, p. 210, Nos. 49, 48); and on two coins of Pessinus from the same obverse die the holes are in different places (B. M. C., Galatia, p. 21, Nos. 16, 20). So too Bahrfeldt notes that on six coins of L. Proculeius, all from the same dies, the holes are in different places.²¹ This fact disposes of the possibility that the hole may represent the point of one leg of compasses used to outline the circumference of the design when working with a hub in the manner discussed below.

Whatever be the origin of this central hole, it seems that blanks were sometimes turned on a lathe.²² Frequently the faces were filed (Pl. I, 16).²³

Blanks could also be prepared by cutting. This was a very common, indeed the usual, practice in the Middle Ages, when coins were so thin that the blanks could easily be cut with shears. It was less common in Greek and Roman times. But examples may easily be enumerated, although there is doubt about the examples which have been instanced in the thick double daries and silver coins struck in Babylonia or other parts of the East after the fall of the Persian Empire.²⁴ The

²¹ The question of this central hole is discussed at length by A. L. Berthier-de-la-Garde, in *Trans. Num. Sect. Imp. Russ. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i, St. Petersburg, 1906, pp. 72-9, without coming to any very definite conclusion.

²² Villenoisy, p. 66.

²⁸ B. M. C., *Phoenicia*, Pls. x. 7 (Berytus), xxiv, 3, 10 (Sidon), xxxiv, 10 (Tyre). This seems to be a rather late fashion; the instances known to me are all of Roman date.

²⁴ The edges of some blanks show striations which have been explained as marking the stages reached by the successive blows of the cutting instrument. I believe, however, that these marks

angular shape of some of the coins of Cyprus ²⁵ and Chios ^{25 a} suggests that they were cut out of pieces of plate, like some of the English coins of necessity of the time of Charles I. Other pieces from various parts of the Greek world have been described as cut from sheet metal with a chisel, or a punch, or from a long strip with two strokes of a gouge. ²⁶ The blanks of the rectangular Indo-Greek coins, as well as the polygonal "punch-marked" silver of early India, must certainly have been cut from sheets of metal. ²⁷ On the other hand, proof that blanks were cut from rods is afforded by some silver blanks from a find made at Eretria. The two specimens in the British Museum ²⁸ have been made from a round rod, which has been partly cut through and then snapped off (Pl. I, 6). ²⁹

are due to the crushing of a blank in the course of ordinary striking; if the metal had any tendency to lamination, this would be the result.

²⁵ E. g. B. M. C., Cyprus, Pl. ii. 9; cp. Six in Rev. Num., 1883, p. 325.

^{25a} E.g. Num. Chron., 1915, Pl. xviii.

²⁶ Villenoisy, *loc. cit.* Mr. J. G. Milne has called my attention to certain coins of Smyrna which have a segment lacking at one side, as if they had been cut out of a strip of metal with a circular punch, which occasionally overlapped one of the holes previously cut.

²⁷ E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, in Bühler's *Grundriss*, Pl. i, Nos. 1, 2, 10, &c.

 $^{^{28}}$ They weigh 2.79 and 2.72 g. respectively, and would have made Euboic tetrobols.

²⁹ Forty-three bronze blanks found in the remains of the supposed mint at Chersonesus Taurica seem to have been produced in this way (see D. N. Kosciuszko-Walużynicz, op. cit., pp. 2 ff.). Dutilh has published (Journ. Internat., ii, 1899, pp. 283 ff.) some small pigs of bronze, apparently of flat section, which were apparently used for making coins in Egypt under the Empire; he thinks they were put between the dies and then cut off. They were about 8 to 10 cm. long.

Probably these cuttings from rods were either reduced to a more or less spherical form by beating or hammered flat. The absence of traces of casting runners on the vast majority of the later silver coins (according to Bahrfeldt they are unknown on Roman silver), and the fact that there exist unworn coins of which the middle part of the design is not "struck up", i.e. has not penetrated into the depth of the die, shows that flat blanks must have been used.

But the easiest way to procure a blank was to take an existing coin of the right weight. When re-struck, the old types would be more or less obliterated by the new. The portions of the old type most likely to be preserved are those which come under the deepest portion of the new die; this should be borne in mind in considering examples where the re-striking has been so imperfectly done that it is uncertain which is the older and which the later design. The study of these re-struck or over-struck coins is of importance as helping to determine the chronological relations of series. The practice was carried to an excessive degree in the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Constans II (641-8), some of whose bronze coins seem to have been re-struck not merely a second but a third time.30 But it should be realized that the custom of using old coins as blanks was much more common than is generally supposed. Whole series of coins,

³⁰ Wroth remarks (B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 266, note 1) that 'the flans of the bronze coins of this reign are extraordinarily irregular. In some cases large coins of the sixth century seem to have been cut up very carelessly, with scissors, into two or three pieces and each piece to have been employed as a flan on which to strike the types of Constans II'. The result is a detestable coinage.

such as the tetradrachms and drachms of the Second Revolt of the Jews, were made out of Syrian tetradrachms and Roman denarii. But even in series produced under less trying conditions, a practised eye is able to detect traces of old types on innumerable coins where they usually pass undetected. It was not only that the trouble of preparing a new blank was saved; if the old coin was of the right standard, correctness of weight was also secured in this way.³¹

A rare form of blank, found only under the Roman Empire, was made of a central disk of one alloy of copper surrounded by a ring of another alloy of the same metal. It is confined to the sestertii and "medallions", and, as the work of these pieces is usually better than the average, it was probably regarded as specially attractive.³² Since the distinction of the metals bore no relation to the design, which was arranged just as on coins of a single metal, the taste which dictated the practice is questionable.

However prepared, the blanks had then to be placed between the dies and struck; we have accordingly next to consider the making of the dies.³³ A few ancient dies have been preserved; a number of others have been recorded, but have now disappeared. Not a few of those which it has been possible to examine appear to be the work of ancient forgers. There were

³¹ It may be observed that the modern forger has realized the advantages of using old coins as blanks: the more especially as no fault can then be found in the appearance of the edges, which otherwise give him a great deal of trouble.

³² Accordingly the Renaissance forgers imitated this fabric.

³³ Babelon, Traité, i. pp. 905-14; Svoronos in Corolla Numismatica (1906), pp. 285-95. The subject is one in which it is particularly desirable to guard against forgeries.

doubtless laws which prevented official dies from being preserved when their work was done, like the Solonian law which forbade a seal-engraver to keep a replica of a seal-ring which he had sold.

One of the oldest extant dies ³⁴ was cut for the reverse of an Athenian tetradrachm of the period 430-322 B.C., and was found in 1904, at Tel el-Athrib in Egypt. It is made of bronze, containing an unusually large proportion of tin (22.51 to 69.85 of copper). This admixture is said to be best calculated to produce hardness and resistance to blows. The upper part is a four-sided pyramid with rounded top; in the lower part the four sides slope inwards, but just before the base is reached there is an offset, below which the base is again bevelled inwards. The design is cut in this base.

In 1910 there were shown at the British Museum the dies of both sides of a coin of Athenian types. These too come from Egypt, having been found at Sais, and must be more or less contemporary with the one just mentioned. There is now no trace of them, and their owner is not known; but impressions from them are shown in Pl. I, 9, 11. The material and other details were unfortunately not noted at the time.

Next in date of the other dies that have been preserved is one for the reverse of a silver tetradrachm of Philip of Macedon; it is of iron, and consists of a round bar, tapering from the top (where it has been

³⁴ Published by Dattari in *Journ. Int. d'Arch. Num.*, viii, 1905, pp. 102 ff., and Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, with illustration. Svoronos maintains that it is an official Athenian die, but everything, especially its source, points to Dattari's view that it is of local Egyptian make.

somewhat spread by the blows which it has received) to the bottom, where the design is cut. A bronze die for the reverse of a large coin of Berenice II of Egypt is a regular cylinder, with a projection at one side.35 In addition to these Greek dies an unusual proportion of Gaulish dies has been preserved. Most of them are entirely of bronze; but one found at Avenches is of bronze let into a cylindrical block of iron; it is the die of an obverse, and consequently required greater support. The bronze obverse die of a coin of Augustus. found in the ruins of a Roman camp in Moesia, is similarly of bronze let into a block of iron. Steel dies of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Constantius Chlorus are also preserved. The majority of the Roman dies extant seem to have been discovered in Gaul. That is even true of a pair of iron dies for obverse and reverse of an aureus of Constans I Caesar, bearing the mint-mark of Antioch. Since official dies from the Antioch mint can hardly have found their way to Beaumont-sur-Oise, where the instrument was found, this pair of dies probably belonged to a forger. The pair are hinged together, so that obverse and reverse could not become separated and hybrids be produced, and so that the axis or "die-position" 36

³⁵ Braun, who first published the object (Ann. dell' Instituto, 1853, pp. 128-31, Mon. V, Pl. li, no. 9) suggests that the projection served to secure its position in fitting it to the anvil or to the tongs. It is too far up the side to have served to prevent the die from penetrating too far into the anvil, as has been supposed. Was it an attachment for a hinge, such as we find on a die of late Roman times (see below)? The die was at the time in the Fejérwáry Collection, and is mentioned in Henzlmann's Catalogue of 1853 (p. 34), but not in the Sale Catalogue of 1868.

was always the same in all specimens struck from the pair.

Finally we may mention a more elaborate instrument in the Museum at Lyons, containing the dies for an aureus of Faustina II. The designs are cut in steel, but the stocks are made of soft iron. The section of both portions is square; the upper portion is hollowed out to the depth of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ cm., forming a square socket which comes down on the lower, fitting it closely. This allowed of more exactitude in the superposition of the dies.³⁷

A number of other dies are described by older writers,³⁸ but are now no longer to be traced.

The method of engraving the designs on the dies must be inferred from extant remains; for there are no literary records of it. It is generally assumed that the arts of die-engraving and gem-engraving were in all essentials the same; both were directed to producing a sunk design in a hard material. Very few signatures of known gem-engravers have been recognized on coins; 39 but considering the rarity of signa-

¹⁷ It has been said that this instrument would not serve for ordinary striking, and may have been meant for the production of plated coins (Z. f. N., v. 1878, p. 121).

se Babelon, i, p. 914, note 3. Trebellius Pollio, a historian of the time of Constantine, says of Victoria (mother of Victorinus, Emperor in Gaul c. 265-8 A.D.) that she struck coins in all three metals, quorum hodieque forma extat apud Treviros (Trig. Tyranni, 31. 3). Forma presumably here means a die. But it is notorious that nearly all the information about the coinage in the writers of the Augustan history is invented and worthless (see J. Menadier, Die Münzen und das Münzwesen bei den Script. Hist. Aug., Berlin Diss., 1913, pp. 19 f.). No coins of Victoria have survived, if any were ever struck.

³⁹ Phrygillos is a more or less certain, and Olympios a probable example (Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, iii, p. 126). A gem which

tures on coins and gems the number of such contacts is not excessively small. Accordingly, it has been generally agreed that the gem-engraver's principal tool, the drill (driven by wheel or bow), was also used by the die-engraver, although it has also been generally admitted that he used a cutting tool, such as a burin or graver, as well. Further, if the gemengraver used a magnifying glass, we may agree that the die-engraver followed his example.⁴⁰

The modern gem-engraver's drill is made of soft iron, on the working end of which diamond powder mixed with oil is placed. The drill being rotated, and the gem pressed against it, the particles of diamond embed themselves in the drill-head and as it rotates wear away the stone. If the stone were softer than the drill-head, the particles would fix themselves in the stone, and the drill would be worn away.

So convinced have some modern writers been that die-engravers used the drill,⁴¹ that, realizing that bronze is softer than iron, and assuming that an iron-headed drill was used, they have jumped to the conclusion that the bronze dies which we know to have existed were not cut directly with a drill, but

closely resembles the Heracles and Lion type of the Syracusan gold coins has been attributed to the die-engraver Euainetos (Evans, Syracusan "Medallions", p. 117, Pl. v. 5); but we are concerned here with signed pieces only.

⁴⁰ The magnifying properties of certain kinds of mirrors and of the glass ball filled with water were known to the ancients. On the whole question, see Blümner, *Technologie*, iii, pp. 298 ff. A convenient summary account of the ancient gem-engraver's technique is given by Miss G. Richter, in the Metrop. Mus. of Art Catalogue of Engraved Gems (New York, 1920), pp. xlvii ff.

⁴¹ V. Lemaire, in Rev. Belge, xlviii, 1892, pp. 98 f.

in some secondary way. Either, it is thought, they were cast from steel originals, and finished with a graver; or they were made by driving a hub into the bronze. If it is necessary to insist on the use of the drill, we have only to assume that a bronze drill was used, in order to get over the difficulty that these writers have felt. The only bronze die that has been analysed, the die of an Attic coin mentioned above, is of very hard bronze, and could presumably have been cut with a bronze drill or even with one of soft iron.

But the fact is that there is no necessity to assume that ancient dies were cut with a drill at all. It is probable that the work was done chiefly with punches and scorpers. 42 The drill, which is necessary in dealing with a refractory material, is not necessary with any but the most hard or brittle of metals. There is nothing in any ancient coin that seems to show that the die must have been engraved with a drill. What has led to the assumption is the fact that the small pellets or blobs which mark the points and angles of letters, and are found also in other parts of the design, were made by cup-shaped cavities in the die very similar to the cup-shaped cavities made in gem-stones by the drill. But those cupshaped cavities could equally well have been made by a round-headed punch. They were made first by the engraver, to mark the points which were to be joined up in finishing his letters. Sometimes, in using his graver for this purpose, his hand slipped, and the

⁴² Typical shapes of modern punches and scorpers are illustrated in H. Wilson's Silverwork and Jewellery, 2nd ed., 1912, pp. 46, 211.

graver passed beyond the cavity. These cavities had the advantage that the burr which was thrown up before the graver as it proceeded would be lost in the cavity.

In denying the absolute necessity for the use of the drill, we do not exclude the probability that it may have been used sometimes for cutting out the larger masses of metal.

The theory that bronze dies were produced by casting from drill-cut steel dies may be dismissed at once; the amount of chasing and cleaning up that would be required in order to get a clean, hard surface would have made the casting process hardly worth while.

An examination of certain details, however, seems to indicate that the old die-cutters understood the use of the hub, made of hard metal, carved with a positive ⁴³ design, and driven into the heated metal of the die, which could be afterwards hardened. Let us examine, for instance, the letters and details, such as the trident, on an early coin of Poseidonia (Pl. I, 8). ⁴⁴ The ridges in relief which form the trident and the letters themselves are flanked and emphasized throughout by a slight furrow. This is seen on both obverse and reverse. It corresponds, of course, to a slight bank or

⁴³ In the case of the early coins of Magna Graecia, with reverse designs incuse, the hub for such a reverse die would, of course, be sunk instead of in relief. Mr. S. P. Noe, who is making a special study of the coins of Metapontum, informs me that he has found evidence of the use of the hub in this series (see below); and Mr. Milne gives further examples in his "Notes on Dies" in the present number of the *Chronicle* (p. 44 f.).

⁴⁴ Head, Guide, Pl. 7, no. 12. The details referred to are, as is natural, difficult to make out on a photograph.

elevation in the die, flanking the depressions which make the letters themselves. Such elevations might have been caused if the letters were punched into the die, since the metal displaced by punching wells up at the sides. But the letters are not so uniform in character that we can suppose them to be made by punching: and the trident would certainly have to be made with the graver. Now, if the die were made in the ordinary way by direct engraving, it is difficult to see what was the object or the method of producing these banks. They seem to be made with the object of defining the details.45 To procure that definition on the die itself, it would have been much easier, and quite as effective, simply to cut the letters and other details a little deeper. But suppose the artist was working on a hub in which these letters are in relief, just as they are on the coin itself; and suppose that the details had become a little worn by use. The only way to define them more clearly was to go round them, making a little trench, cutting away the field, so as to throw them up into relief again.

A similar treatment of the letters is to be seen on the earliest coins of the Achaean League (Pl. I, 10).⁴⁶ It would doubtless not be difficult, with a little search, to find other examples in various parts of the Greek world.⁴⁷ But we should not be justified in jumping to

⁴⁵ As when, in order to "improve" a worn coin, a modern craftsman goes round the lettering with a tool, cutting away the field so as to make it stand out clearly.

⁴⁶ That is on the unique tetradrachm in the British Museum (*Num. Chron.*, 1902, Pl. xvi. 4) and the corresponding hemidrachms.

⁴⁷ Mr. Cecil Thomas called my attention to a Sassanian gold coin which clearly shows a deep furrow outlining the bust, proving

the conclusion that wherever we see such a furrow surrounding an element in a design, it is due to trenching on a hub. The rough dashes which form the sole adornment of the reverses of some of the bronze coins of Elymais 48 may have been produced by using some kind of graver as a punch, throwing up a bank which caused the furrow now seen surrounding the dashes. It is hardly conceivable that the half-barbarous workmen who produced these coins can have practised the refinement of working with a hub.

The hubbing process was even used for the reverse dies of the early "incuse" coins of Magna Graecia (Pl. I, 11). If we examine the borders of these coins, we shall see that, while the obverse is decorated with a circle of dots between two plain circles, 40 on the reverse we have almost invariably a border of radiating dashes. These dashes look as if they were impressed on the coins themselves with a punch of corresponding shape; but it is obvious that each coin would not be subjected to this tedious process. It is equally obvious from the appearance of this border that it was not carved in relief on the die. It seems certain, therefore, that the relief die which was necessary for striking the reverses of these curious coins was made with a sunk hub (which indeed exactly, save for the special border, resembled, and may have been identical with, the sunk die used for striking the obverses); and the special border was punched on to this hub.

in his opinion—and he is a professional gem- and die-engraver—that it had been thus worked on in the hub.

⁴⁸ B. M. C., Arabia, &c., Pl. xli. 8.

⁴⁰ On the actual die the dots would be made with a beadpunch, the circles cut with a scorper.

Further indications of the use of the hub will be found below, in connexion with the explanation suggested for the appearance of impressions from more than one die on the same coin.

In view of what has thus been ascertained with regard to Greek coins, it seems reasonable to agree with those who assume that under the Roman Empire dies were produced by means of hubs.⁵⁰ One advantage of the hub is that, being driven into the die. it gives that die an additional density, thus improving its working capacity. A second advantage is its enormous saving of time. A hub with the portrait head of an emperor, for instance, would allow of a large number of dies being made, variations such as radiate or laurel crown being added with the graver, in the same time as was required to engrave a complete die freehand. Such vast quantities of dies seem to have been used under the Roman Empire that even if we make allowance for the great numbers of slaves employed, for the amazing accuracy with which a craftsman will copy his own or some one else's model, and for the speed with which he will work, we can yet hardly explain the great number of dies closely resembling each other unless we assume that they were made with hubs.51

⁵⁰ A. Markl in N. Z., viii, 1876, pp. 243-51. Bahrfeldt in Berl. Bl., xxv, 1904, p. 445. The latter denies that hubs could have been used for Roman Republican coins, because he has noted many corrections in inscriptions which could only have been made with the graver. But of course the graver could be used after punching for making additions and corrections.

⁵¹ Markl (op. cit., pp. 249-50) has found coins with the title of Claudius II, but with portraits which seem to be of Gallienus and Aurelian. This, he says, is an indication of the use of hubs. The Claudius-Gallienus example may be due to such a cause; although

The point of the centre leg of a pair of compasses used to outline the circumference of a design made a small hole in the die, which, when it survived the cutting of the design, is represented in the coin by a raised point.⁵² The hub can hardly have been used in such cases, or we should have had a hole instead of a raised point.

We have no means of calculating the length of life of a die in ancient times. It depended partly on whether it was an obverse, or anvil die or pile, or a reverse die or trussel; the latter, having much less extraneous support than the former, naturally had a much shorter life. Hence it is more common to find coins from the same obverse than from the same reverse die. There are examples of the same obverse die remaining in use with different reverses for many successive years; thus at Aradus 53 the same obverse

it may equally well be a case of an engraver repeating the portrait of a defunct ruler because he did not know what his successor was like. That would be nothing new in the history of coinage. The Claudius-Aurelian example is puzzling. If a hub of Aurelian's head had been prepared, the engraver must certainly have known that Claudius was dead, and would not deliberately have placed his name on the die. The portraits of various Emperors of this period have a family likeness; one would like to be sure that Markl was right in recognizing the portrait of Aurelian.

⁵² Villenoisy (*loc. cit.*) has found it on coins of Nicaea, Smyrna, and Itanus in Crete; and it is common on Roman coins (Bahrfeldt, *loc. cit.*).

⁶³ B.M.C., Phoenicia, p. xxxiii. At Tyre obverse dies were kept for extraordinarily long periods—perhaps as long as fifty years—but were doubtless not much used (ibid., p. cxxxiv, note 6). Calculations recorded by Mr. J. G. Milne (Num. Chron., 1910, p. 338) indicate that in Alexandria eight or nine reverse dies were used up in connexion with each obverse for tetradrachms of Tiberius. As Macdonald remarks, the comparatively short life of the reverse dies explains the fact that they were often less carefully executed

die was used with reverses dated 184, 185, 186, and 187 (76/5-73/2 B.c.).

The gradual deterioration of a die by cracking is often to be traced, since the Greeks were so little particular about the appearance of their coins that they went on using a die long after it should have been scrapped. The most remarkable instance of this is one of the Syracusan decadrachms by Kimon; the head of Arethusa appears, on the later-struck specimens, to rise out of a formless mass, due to the breaking away of a large piece of the die.⁵⁴

The value of flaws in dies as a guide to their classification in time is obvious. The sequence of the Kimonian decadrachms, for instance, has recently been worked out, partly with the help of this indication, by Regling.^{54 a}

When a die thus broke at the edge, it was possible to patch it up. The broken part could be cut away. and a new rim be fitted; the join may then make itself perceptible in the coin in the shape of an inner circle running parallel to the edge.⁵⁵

Additions to a die could always be made by means of the graver. But erasures or corrections were more difficult, since in order to take out any part of the design or lettering, which is sunk below the surface, the immediately surrounding area of the surface must be cut away so as to harmonize. Single letters or

than obverses (Journ. Hellen. Stud., xxv, 1905, p. 100). We can sometimes make a calculation of the number of dies used per year (Newell, in Amer. Journ. Num., liii, pt. II, 1920, p. 41); but we can never tell how many coins were struck from them.

⁵¹ S. W. Grose, Num. Chron., 1916, pp. 113 ff.

 ⁵⁴ a Amtl. Ber. aus d. kön. Kunstsamml., Berlin, Okt. 1914, pp. 3 ff.
 ⁵⁵ Handbook, Pl. xiii, 7.

monograms are often altered in the die; 56 complete words more seldom. At Sardes the whole of the circular inscriptions on both dies of a coin of Drusus Junior and Germanicus were removed by the process of cutting away the edge of the die, and substituting new circular bands of metal on which new inscriptions were engraved. Owing to faulty adjustment of the bands the alteration is clearly apparent (P1 I, 12).57 Very interesting are two cases of the altering of dies from a much earlier period.⁵⁸ Two eight-drachm pieces of the Thraco-Macedonian king Geta (about 500 B.C.) are from the same obverse die. It originally had a full inscription ("Geta king of the Edonians") 59 on the obverse, and none on the reverse. It was decided to transfer the inscription to the reverse; a new die for the reverse was accordingly engraved, with the inscription. Then the field of the obverse die was worked over, entirely obliterating the first, but only partially obliterating the second and third words, which still appear faintly. Finally a complete new obverse die, without inscription, was engraved. Coins

TONAXOY was corrected to TONAPXOY (B. M. C., Lycaonia, &c., pp. 120-21, Nos. 7-8); on a fourth-century coin of Nagidus (ibid., p. 114, No. 20) PY is inscribed over AOH erased. This was done when one magistrate took over a reverse die from his predecessor (cp. an instance from Syria, Macdonald in Journ. Hellen. Stud., xxv, 1905, p. 98, Nos. 26, 27). Bahrfeldt collects a number of corrections on Roman Republican coins in his Nachträge, i, 170-1, and ii, 93-4. In the present number of the Numismatic Chronicle Mr. J. G. Milne describes some interesting examples of recutting of dies from specimens in his own collection.

⁵⁷ B. M. C., *Lydia*, p. 252, Pl. xxvi. 5.

⁵⁸ Num. Chron., 1920, pp. 106-8.

⁵⁹ Γετα Βασιλευ Ηδωνεων.

representing all these stages are in the London and Paris cabinets.

More drastic was the process at Peparethus, early in the fifth century. The obverse die of a tetradrachm bore a bunch of grapes between two dolphins. For some reason not known, the whole die was worked over; the intervals between the individual grapes were widened, the dolphins taken out, and a badly designed pair of vine-leaves and a border of large pellets added.

Various other instances of the alteration or correction of dies could be adduced. And it is needless to say that innumerable errors, due sometimes to illiteracy, sometimes to carelessness, are to be found on ancient, as on modern, coins.

The anvil 62 into which the lower die was inserted is represented on certain ancient coins. That which is most usually mentioned in this connexion is the denarius of Titus Carisius, struck about 45 B.C.63 The instrument is apparently rectangular, diminishing slightly towards the bottom, where it is provided with tooth-like projections to grip the ground. Beside it are a pair of tongs and a hammer, with a long head which suggests use not so much as a sledge hammer as for less violent work. On the obverse of the same

⁶⁰ See Babelon, Traité, i. 926-27.

⁶¹ Ibid., 922-25.

⁶² ἄκμων, incus.

⁶³ B.M.C., Rom. Rep. i, pp. 527-8, Nos. 4056-9, Pl. lii, 1, 2. Above the anvil is shown a conical cap wreathed with laurel—the symbol of Vulcan, who presided over the moneyer's art in antiquity, as St. Eligius did in the middle ages. This object has by some been taken to represent the upper die, but it is much too large in proportion; Babelon's view, that it represents both the die and the cap, is ingenious but unacceptable.

coin is the head of Moneta, showing that the objects are coining instruments in particular, not the instruments of Vulcan in general. Other Roman coins representing the coining anvil are the following:—

A denarius of Lucius Scribonius Libo, struck about 71 B.C. The reverse of this moneyer's denarius represents the puteal Scribonianum, an enclosure like a well-head in the Forum. This monument is ornamented on some of the coins with an anvil, on others with a pair of tongs, on others with a hammer.⁶⁴ The details of the anvil are too small to be clear, though it seems to have feet like that of Carisius; the hammer has a short head like a sledge-hammer.

An object represented on the coins of certain groups of moneyers under Augustus has usually been taken for a coining-anvil, but there is no doubt that it is an altar.⁶⁵

Coining instruments are also represented, in an even more summary fashion, on the few pieces which illustrate the actual process of striking. 66 All are of Roman date. The late bronze coins of Paestum make allusion to the fact that, when in 89 B.C. the privilege of issuing money was withdrawn from all other towns in Italy save the capital, Paestum was allowed by the Senate down to the time of Tiberius to strike bronze. One of these coins shows a building supposed to be the local mint. A second has on one side a pair of scales, on the reverse a man striking with a sledge-hammer a die on an anvil, while another with outstretched

66 See Babelon, Traité, i. 903-4.

⁶⁴ B. M. C., Rom. Rep., i, pp. 419-20, Nos. 3377-85, Pl. xliii, 9-13.

⁶⁵ Willers, Gesch. der römischen Kupferprägung, p. 182.

hand directs his movements. A bronze tessera of Imperial date at Vienna ⁶⁷ has on one side the figures of the Three Monetae in a temple; on the reverse, a seated figure places the blank (so it would seem, though the blank itself cannot be seen) on the anvil (which is of truncated pyramidal shape); another, also seated, holds the upper die; while a third, standing, is about to bring down his hammer on it.

A famous painting in the House of the Vettii at Pompeii remains to be considered.⁶⁸ It dates from the first half of the first century of our era; and there is a considerable body of agreement ⁶⁹ in the view which sees in it a representation of the work of moneyers, amoretti, as in other paintings of the time, taking the place of human craftsmen. It has also, however, been explained as a goldsmith's workshop; and as a matter of fact all the operations depicted are possible in such a workshop, while in one of them the feature which would make it suitable for a moneyer's atelier seems to be lacking. The various actions seen

⁶⁷ Reproduced by Mowat, Le Bureau de l'Équité, in Num. Zeit., N. F. ii, 1909 (p. 23 of reprint) and attributed by him to the time of Augustus. It has the "Three Monetae", otherwise not seen on coins before Commodus.

⁶⁸ An extensive literature: see Babelon, Traité, i. 898 f.; also, especially, P. Herrmann, Denkmüler der Malerei des Altertums, p. 37 and Taf. 24 (the best photographic reproduction). Mr. Robinson calls my attention to an interesting parallel to the Vettian picture from modern times in the view of the activities of the 'Mistery of Goldsmiths' on an invitation card to a Meeting of the Goldsmiths' Company issued in 1707 (reproduced in J. R. Green's Short History, illustr. ed., vol. iv, p. 1574). Allowing for differences of date, all the processes of the Pompeian picture are represented in the modern one.

⁶⁹ In my Handbook I adopted this view, which I am now convinced must be discarded in favour of the less popular one.

in the picture are as follows. On the right is a furnace, on the top of which is a head of Vulcan. On the other side a Cupid holds with tongs in the flames a gold object which he heats with a blow-pipe. To the right of it is a Cupid working at a large gold dish, which rests on a stand and leans against the back of the furnace; he steadies it with a rod in his left hand, his right is concealed. The colouring shows that this object cannot be the open door of the furnace. as some have supposed. Next is a seated Cupid, at work on a piece of metal with hammer and anvil. Then a stand bearing two pairs of scales and a chest with three drawers, half opened, containing metallic objects. Next, a Cupid weighing something in a pair of scales, before a seated, fully draped bat's-winged figure (the only draped figure in the picture) who points with a critical air to the scales. Her wings are decorated with black rings. Finally, a group of two Cupids, one of whom holds with tongs a gold bar of metal on an anvil, while the other raises a sledge-hammer to strike it. Above the picture are two peacocks, which those who explain the design as representing the making of coins regard as the attributes of Juno Moneta, though they may be purely ornamental. The picture is only one of a number which represent Cupids engaged in various ordinary activities of sport, religion, and business (such as garland-making and flower-dealing, oil-making and selling, fulling, vintage and wine-dealing). It would be extraordinary if the operations of a very specialized department of state were to be included in this series, even if the owner of the house had been a monetary triumvir. In the crucial scene (where the two figures

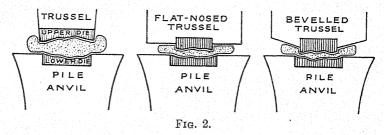
are at work at the anvil) it is impossible to recognize anything like a die in the object which is being struck. The draped figure certainly suggests a lady customer, rather than the superior official of a mint. The decoration of the lady's wings with eyes would favour her identification with Juno Moneta, were it not that, as Hermann points out, similar harmless decoration is found on the butterfly wings of psychae on other frescoes in the same house, where connexion with minting operations is out of the question. And, as already remarked, all the details are equally well suited to the work of goldsmiths or silversmiths.

In all these remains of antiquity, the small details are so summarily treated, that they add very little to our knowledge. We may therefore return from the external evidence about the methods of striking to the evidence of the coins themselves.

As a general rule, we may take it that a die having deep relief, imposing more strain on it, would be used as a pile, i.e. set in the anvil, which afforded it support. For the same reason dies which were not intended to be used for long, such as those which had to bear the marks of changing officials, were used as upper dies or trussels. To In the later period of Greek coinage, when it had become customary for a head in comparatively high relief to appear on one side of a coin, that side was accordingly used as a pile. Convention has given the designation obverse to the side which bears a head, reverse to the other side. But it should be remarked that in the earlier days of coinage, for

⁷⁰ Villenoisy, op. cit., p. 54; Macdonald in Journ. Hellen. Stud., xxv, 1905, p. 100.

instance in Sicily down to about 400 B.C., the head was very frequently in the trussel. The reason for this is plain if we study the development of the Syracusan series. At the beginning the side with the chariot, as having the higher relief, is the pile. But as the head on the other side gradually becomes larger and more important, its relief is increased, and finally it takes its place on the anvil side. If we use the word "obverse" to connote a technical feature, it should be used always of the side produced by the pile, whether it bears a head or not.⁷¹



When the area of the trussel was less than the area of the blank, the metal welled up round its edges as the die was forced in by the hammer-blows (Fig. 2, left hand). This is characteristic, for instance, of the Attic coinage throughout the duration of the "Old Style", i.e. down to the fourth century. But at Aegina, for instance, it was usual to make the face of the trussel wide enough to cover the whole of the blank, so that the surface of the reverse is beaten down quite flat (Fig. 2, middle).⁷² Sometimes the surface is not quite

⁷¹ Hill, Coins of Ancient Sicily, pp. 5 f. But Evans, Proc. Num. Soc., p. 36 f., in Num. Chr., 1917, prefers to keep the term obverse for the 'principal face' of a coin.

⁷² Mr. Earle Fox, noticing this flatness, deduced a theory (in Corolla Numismatica, pp. 40 ff.) that such coins were what he

flat, but slopes upwards slightly from the edge of the design to the circumference of the coin; this means that the portion of the face of the trussel outside the actual design was bevelled, instead of being horizontal (Fig. 2, right hand).

The distinction between these two methods of production is important, since it would appear that they were seldom in use at the same mint during the same period. Examples of reverses produced by the three methods are shown in Pl. I, 13, 14, 15, corresponding to Fig. 2, left, middle, and right respectively.

The strong contrast between the convexity of the obverse, produced by the pile, and the concavity of the reverse, produced by the trussel, is gradually diminished as time goes on; generally speaking, it would seem that a strongly marked incuse reverse ceases to be the rule after the early years of the fourth century.⁷³ But a certain concavity of the reverse remains characteristic of ancient coinage; it is often hardly noticeable, until attention is called to it by some forgery which, in contrast, has a flat or even convex reverse.

A curious development, found especially in decadent or barbarous coinages, is what is called the scyphate

called "anvil-struck", the blank being placed on "a kind of spike, or projection, engraved with the design to be impressed and fixed in an anvil"; he opposes these to what he calls "punch-struck" coins, produced in the way described above. But the difficulty of balancing the blanks on such spikes is enough to throw doubt on his theory.

⁷³ Except of course in deliberately archaistic fabrics, such as that of the coinage of the Lycian League. The date of the disappearance of the incuse square is carefully discussed by Regling in Z. f. N_{*}, xxxiii, p. 51 f.

or cup-shaped fabric. The obverse, although its relief is not high, is strongly convex, the reverse strongly concave, so that the coin takes the shape of a small saucer. The object of this fabric may possibly have been to fix the blank firmly between the dies in striking. It is characteristic of certain barbarous Celtic coinages, of one group of coins of the Himyarite rulers of Southern Arabia in the first century after Christ, and of the later Byzantine coinage, as well as of some Balkan coinages under Byzantine influence.

Quite different are the so-called incuse coins of Southern Italy, produced towards the end of the sixth century B.C. (Pl. I, 8 and 11; see above). The reverse reproduces the obverse more or less closely,74 but in incuse, so that the coin looks as if it were repoussé. But it is not; a separate die was used for each side and, what is more, the reverse is intended to show the opposite side of the object represented on the obverse. Thus if Poseidon is seen from the front on the obverse. on the reverse we have a back view of him, his chlamvs being represented passing over his shoulders. Various theories have been proposed to account for this curious fabric; of those hitherto published, the only one which has much plausibility explains it in the same way as the scyphate fabric described above, as being useful in assisting steadiness in striking.75

⁷⁴ But not exactly; so that these are not "bracteates", as Babelon (*Traité*, i. 933) supposes.

⁷⁵ Incuse reverses having quite a different type from the obverse are also found occasionally on early coins of Greek Italy, as well as on the later electrum of Phocaea. In Phoenicia we occasionally find, at Aradus, Byblus, and Tyre, a distinct portion of the design of the reverse treated in incuse (B. M. C., *Phoenicia*, pp. xxii, lxv f., cxxvii). I cannot explain this strange convention.

We must not forget to mention the one-sided coins which are characteristic of brief periods of the coinage of Etruria and of Cyprian Salamis. These were simply made by substituting for one of the two engraved dies a plain surface of metal. Among the Etruscan coins are a number which, by the slight traces of a type which remain on the nearly blank side, suggest that the idea of having one-sided coins arose from the fact that the dies of the reverse had become so much worn that the type was nearly unrecognizable. The gradual wearing away of dies seems to have led to something not very different in a certain class of ancient British or Gaulish gold coins, in which the obverse takes the form of a simple convex button, without any design whatever.

It is generally agreed that blanks which were thick, and required great power to compress them, must have been heated for the purpose of striking. Possibly only the first blow was given under these conditions; for even a thick blank cools very quickly, and would have required re-heating after the first blow; then in the time required to replace it in exactly the right position between the dies it would have cooled again. But if it is true (as has frequently been asserted in the text-books) that the reticulated surface

⁷⁶ Babelon, *Traité*, i, p. 933, cites an example from Cius in Bithynia, Dattari (*Riv. Ital.*, xxvi, 1913, pp. 449 f.) describes ten Constantinian pieces. These are probably accidents, caused by two blanks being placed at the same time between the dies, so that one side only of each received an impression.

⁷⁷ Evans, Coins of the Ancient Britons, Pls. B. 8, E. 8; Blanchet, Traité des Monnaies gauloises, p. 346.

⁷⁸ V. Lemaire, Rev. Belge, xlviii, 1892, pp. 115-18. Villenoisy in Congrès int. de Num., Paris, 1900, p. 59.

presented by some early Greek coins is evidence of their having been struck hot, the finishing blow must have been given before they were cool. The split edges characteristic of many Sicilian coins, among others, could only have been produced if the metal was cold. The practice doubtless varied with time and place.⁷⁹

Even with the highly perfected modern methods, accidents take place in the striking of coins; and extant ancient coins give evidence of many such failures, partial or complete.80 One of the commonest is double-striking, where the die, at the second or third blow, strikes the blank in a slightly different place, and the later impressions duplicate instead of coinciding with the earlier. A more curious fault is seen in the "accidentally incuse" coins, in which the design of one side is seen repeated, incuse, on the other. This usually happened when a coin, after being struck, stuck to the upper die and was not noticed by the workman; the obverse of this completed coin was then brought down on the next blank and hammered into it, producing on it an incuse impression exactly similar to the real obverse die. This is especially common in Roman denarii; it is

⁷⁹ Villenoisy (loc. cit.) says that the broad post-Alexandrine tetradrachms often show a layer of violet oxide produced at the moment of heating, and that on some coins this layer has, on coming into contact with the relief of the die, been drawn out into radiations from centre to circumference. I suppose it is this radiation which enables him to say that this oxide has not been produced by chemical action during the time the coin has lain buried.

⁸⁰ On various kinds of accidents, illustrated by Egyptian material, see Dattari in *Riv. Ital.*, xxvi, 1913, pp. 454 ff. Only a few of the more important can be discussed here.

rare in copper or bronze coins, and rarer still in gold. Greater care was taken in the striking of gold than other metals; also the greater weight of the gold blanks and of the large bronze or copper coins made them less likely to stick to the upper die. Of all the Roman specimens which have been recorded, all but three have the head or obverse side repeated in this way—a sufficient proof that the die of the head side was normally in the anvil.⁸¹

A very common fault, especially in small coins, was caused by the dies being badly registered, so that only part of the type of one side was struck on the blank, the greater part of the blank being left empty. So This faulty adjustment, in the case of blanks cast en chapelet and not separated before striking, but placed on an anvil in which several obverse dies were set, would produce coins with impressions of parts of two

⁸¹ Bahrfeldt, op. cit., pp. 438-9, who gives details for the Roman coins, appears to invert the facts when he says that a coin already struck was left lying on the lower die and another blank was then placed on it. In order to square this theory with the facts, he has to assume that the head was in the upper die or trussel, which is contrary to all other evidence, except in a quite late period. Further it is clear that a coin left lying on the lower die would most probably have been seen by the workman, whereas one sticking to the upper die would have been concealed from his view. Bahrfeldt has accordingly to make the further extraordinary assumption that these faulty strikings were deliberate. Considering the enormous numbers of extant Roman denarii, the proportion of accidentally incuse pieces is not excessive. - Dattari (Riv. Ital., xxvi, 1913), out of seven accidentally incuse pieces of the Constantinian period, has two with the reverse instead of the obverse repeated. This seems to show that the rule that the obverse was in the anvil was not universal in that period, as we can readily believe, seeing that the difference in relief between the two sides was negligible.

⁸² Dattari, loc. cit., Pl. vii. 7 is a good instance.

different dies on the same side. The blank was evidently placed so as to lie partly on two obverse dies, and the reverse die was brought down on it; thus a complete reverse impression was associated with two partial obverses.

We have, it is true, no other evidence that more than one obverse die was set in an anvil, but it is a possible explanation of such misstrikings, which have been noted in the Gaulish and Jewish series.83 These blanks were evidently cast en chapelet. But an exactly similar misstriking is seen on two fifth-century coins of Segesta, from the same pair of dies (Pl. I, 17); 81 and these coins of Segesta were struck out of bullet-shaped blanks. Comparison of the two coins shows that the two obverse dies which produced the complete and the fragmentary impression (it is only a bit of the border of the second that is to be seen) were in the same position with regard to each other when the two coins were struck. So that it seems reasonable to agree that they were both let or hubbed into the anvil rather close to each other, and that the blank overlapped.

More remarkable are the curious extraneous elements which appear on a coin of Lycia (Pl. I, 18)⁸⁵ and on one of Alyzia (Pl. I, 22).⁸⁶ On the former the snout and one foreleg of a boar, on the latter the head and part of a wing of a Pegasus, are seen at the edge of the coin, coming actually within the area of the field (there is no border to the design, but one must regard as the

⁸³ Alexander Jannaeus, B. M. C., Palestine, Pl. xxii. 4.

⁸⁴ B.M.C., Sicily, p. 132, No. 25; and Hill, Ward Collection, No. 231.

⁸⁵ B. M. C., Lycia, p. 8, No. 40, pl. ii. 18.

⁸⁶ B.M.C, Corinth, p. 114, No. 4, Pl. xxx. 1. Mr. Robinson called my attention to this and to the coins of Phlius and Velia.

area a circle circumscribed about the design). One can only conclude that in each of these cases one die was carelessly hubbed into the anvil, so close to the other that it was impossible to strike a coin on the latter without getting an impression of part of the former. This is an additional proof that hubbing was practised, since we can hardly suppose that such a mistake would have been made in the course of the much slower operation of direct cutting. Other examples of the same carelessness are forthcoming from Velia and Phlius. 80 a On the former (Pl. I, 19) it is noticeable that the intrusive die shows a border of dots, such as does not occur on contemporary drachms. Possibly it was a didrachm die; people who used didrachm dies to strike tetradrachms, as at Segesta, would not hesitate to place didrachm and drachm dies on the same anvil. Two specimens of the Phlius coin from the same dies are shown, Pl. I, 20, 21.

It is obvious that if two or three obverse dies were let into the anvil at the same time, we have an explanation of the use of one reverse die apparently contemporaneously with two or three obverses, as we find them used on the coins of Olympia.^{86 b}

If the obverse and reverse dies are so fastened together, or if some arrangement is made for registering, so that they always strike the blank in the same position relatively to each other, the relative positions of the two types will also be fixed. Thus if a penny of George V be turned between the fingers it will be found that, if the obverse is upright, so will

⁸⁶ a B. M. C., Italy, Velia, no. 17; Peloponnesus, Phlius, nos 20 and 21.

⁸⁶ b C. T. Seltman, in Nomisma, ix, 1914, p. 11.

the reverse be. On Victoria's coins before 1887, however, the reverse is normally upside down in relation to the obverse.⁸⁷

In antiquity the practice of fixing, or otherwise regulating, the position of the dies varied greatly at different times and places. The analysis of the material, although it has hardly been begun, has already yielded useful results in various ways; if we know, for instance, that the practice was normally in use in one part of the world, or at one period, we shall hesitate to attribute to that district or period a coin which ignores the practice. So

If we except those cases in which the nature of the design necessitates a constant relation of the axes,⁹⁰ we may take it that when the practice of working with fixed dies was once introduced, it did not go out again, unless, of course, the mint became demoralized for some reason. It has been noticed that it was

^{**}To recent numismatic works, this relation of the reverse to the obverse (axis or die position) is expressed by the use of arrows;

† means that the reverse die is upright as regards the obverse,

† that it is upside down, -> or -< that it is sideways, and so on.

^{8&#}x27; For the first systematic study of this subject, see Macdonald, "Fixed and Loose Dies in Ancient Coinage," in *Corolla Numism*. (1906), pp. 178-88. Consult also Mr. Milne's note (p. 47, below) and the references which he there gives.

⁸⁹ Macdonald gives as an instance the Seleucid coins generally attributed to Hierax; these are all from unfixed dies, whereas all the coinage of Hierax must have been issued in western Asia Minor, where fixed dies had become the rule in the days of his predecessor.

⁹⁰ E.g. the early thin "incuse" coins of Magna Graecia, in which, if the reverse had been placed out of line with the obverse, which it exactly resembles, the result would have shown through; or the early electrum lentoid pieces of Asia Minor, in which the three incuses of the reverse had to be placed regularly in order to fit them in.

adopted at a very early date in the south-west corner of Asia Minor (as at Cnidus, Samos, Calymna, and Carpathos, where it prevailed from the seventh or sixth century). Elsewhere it is a rarity before the fourth century. It is found at Tyre (except on very small denominations) before the end of the fifth century, though the positions vary between 1, 1, and →; and at Sidon the coins, from the end of that century onwards, are normally struck 1. Seleucid and Alexandrine coins from the Eastern parts of the Empire are normally struck with the reverse upside down. But in central Asia and northern India, this ↓ position began to change to ↑ under Euthydemus I (c. 222-187 B.C.). At Rome irregularity prevails during the Republic, except towards the end, when there is a tendency to regularize, and under the Empire the dies were fixed either \(\) or \(\). Roman "Medallions" were almost invariably struck 1.91

As a rule nothing was done after the completion of the striking of a coin to alter its appearance. But there is one very curious phenomenon, about which much has been written, 92 without reaching any satisfactory explanation. This is the serrated edge. We know from Tacitus 93 that in his time the Germans, of the Roman coins which circulated among them, preferred the old and well-known kinds, those with serrated edges, and those with the two-horse chariot for type. Finds confirm his statement, though in his day it was many generations since the last coins of this

⁹¹ Most of the above examples are taken from Macdonald's essay, to which reference should be made for others.

⁹² See Babelon, Traité, i, pp. 619-23.

¹⁸ Germania, 5.

kind had been issued. The invention of the serrated edge (for which, so far as can now be seen, there is little to be said) has been claimed for Rome, the Seleucids, and the Carthaginians. At Rome it is confined to the denarii, and is first found towards the end of the third century; 94 but apart from this and one other example from the period 172-151 B.C., it is, at Rome, confined to the first half of the first century. As a rule, when a Roman moneyer issues one serrated coin, all his coins are serrated; but there are some moneyers who issue both kinds. It would appear that the Roman blanks were usually cast with plain edges, then serrated with a file, and then struck. The behaviour of the indentations under pressure is the proof of this; but in some examples the filing may be later than the striking. Serration is not confined to the solid silver denarii, but is very common in plated issues. The plating was not done after the filing, since the edges of the cuts show the bronze.95

Although at Rome this fashion is confined to denarii, at Carthage we find it applied to gold or electrum as well as silver. Examination of the indentations here shows that they were made with a cutting instrument, more than one blow being given; also that they were made before striking. It would seem that these issues belong to the period of the Hannibalian War, being thus more or less contemporary with the solitary early

⁹⁵ The above remarks on the Roman serrati are based on Bahrfeldt.

⁹⁴ Bahrfeldt, op. cit., pp. 439-43, dates the first instance about the middle of the century. The Romans, however, rarely made any technical invention, and this solitary denarius (type: Dioscuri, with the wheel as symbol) is dated by de Salis and Grueber (B. M. Catal., Rom. Rep., ii, p. 211) to the period 217-197 B.C.

denarius above mentioned), whose maker perhaps initiated the fashion of the invaders. In Syria there were produced, during the first half of the second century, 96 serrated coins of bronze. 97 But probably the earliest examples of the fashion come from Macedonia, where it appears during the reign of Philip V (220–179 B. C.).

The object of the practice is quite unexplained. The non-Roman peoples who used it soon became tired of it. Why did the Romans take it up vigorously about half a century after it had been dropped by other peoples? It cannot have been intended to emphasize the purity of the metal, since it was used for bronze coins by the Greeks, and for plated coins by the Romans. Probably, however, the reason why the German barbarians liked them was that they could see at once whether a denarius was of solid silver or not.

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⁹⁶ About 200 to 145 B c., according to Babelon, Traité, i, 620.

⁹⁷ According to Bahrfeldt they, unlike the Roman, were cast in serrate form before striking. That may be true of the majority of them, for the serrations certainly look blunter than those on the other series described above, and are sometimes nearly blocked by a ridge running round the edge of the coin. But the indentations on the original model must have been made by cutting, as elsewhere. Kolb (*Procès-verbaux de la Soc. fr. de Num.*, 1920-21, pp. xli ff.) maintains that the Carthaginian serrati were also cast in that form before striking. He appears to be judging from a single specimen. It is not true of the three specimens in the British Museum.

TWO NOTES ON GREEK DIES.

(SEE PLATE II.)

1. Recutting of dies.

THE recutting of dies may have been commoner than appears at first sight, as it is only when the work is badly done that the results are evident. And instances are found not so much by careful search as by chance: they come as a kind of by-product of other investigations. So it would be of service if students would collect any that they happen to observe. The examples cited below are from my own collection.

Probably the commonest form of recutting occurs with magistrates' names. It was natural enough, when a man took over the responsibility for striking a city's coinage, that, if he found his predecessor had left some dies in good condition, he should use them, simply altering the name. A good example of this is a tetrobol of Knidos from the Dadia hoard, which has the name of Eutherses cut over that of Philokles, retrograde, showing that the cutting was done on the die. Such recutting was frequent at Smyrna in the early part of the first century B.C.

A more extensive alteration, covering the whole titulature of an emperor, is in the obverse legend of an Alexandrian tetradrachm of Hadrian (published in *Num. Chron.*, xvii, p. 33, and Pl. iv. B. 4) where the earlier and smaller lettering can be read fairly clearly

under the substituted inscription. This also must have been done on the die.

A probable instance of recutting on the hub may be seen in an Alexandrian tetradrachm of the first year of Vespasian with the reverse type of Nike. This type was used under Vitellius, with the date L in the field of the reverse. But the issues of Vespasian were dated on the obverse, and so, before the old reverse of Vitellius was employed, the date was removed from it. The specimen under consideration still bears the lower stroke of the L: and, as the surface round it does not appear to have been affected, it looks as if the alteration was made on the hub.

A bronze drachm of Hadrian of the Alexandrian mint is rather interesting in this connexion. In year 12 there was in use a reverse type of Nilus reclining l., holding a cornucopiae with fruit on top in his r. hand, and a reed in his l., and resting his l. elbow on a hippopotamus: in the field, to r. of the cornucopiae, are the numerals 15 (referring to the 16 cubits which were the standard of a good inundation in the Nile valley), and in the exergue is the date LAWAEK (Pl. II, 1; Brit. Mus.) In year 16 the proper Nilus type for the drachms was Nilus seated 1. on rocks, holding the reed in his r. hand and the cornucopiae in his l., with a crocodile climbing up the rocks (Pl. II, 3; Brit. Mus.). But some ingenious person at the mint seems in year 16 to have found an old Nilus hub of year 12 and adapted it by cutting out the date in the exergue and fashioning the fruit at the top of the cornucopiae into a L, so that with the numerals in the field it made the date LIS (Pl. II, 2; my collection). The work must have been done on the hub: the exergue is hollowed,

especially in the middle, but traces of the L at one end and the EK at the other end of the original date can be seen: and there is also hollowing round the refashioned L above.

A different reason for alteration is to be found in two coins of Commodus in my collection. The obverse type is CΛAYPH KOMOΔOC Bust r. laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass, in back view: the reverse Apollo Kitharoidos standing, head l., in long robe with mantle flying behind, holding in r. plectrum, in l. lyre. On one coin the reverse legend is $\langle \epsilon \rangle \cap \Omega$ (Pl. II, 4), on the other <€ VITIT >€ ΩN (Pl. II, 5). Apart from the legend of the reverse, the two pairs of dies are identical. It is evident that the second coin represents the later state of the dies, as they are more worn, except in the first part of the reverse legend: on the Ephesian coin the letters of the ethnic are in very low relief, whereas on the Euippean VITT stand up boldly, with a slight hollow round each. It would appear that, an issue of coins being wanted for Euippe, a pair of dies was borrowed from Ephesos: on the reverse the letters VITT were cut deeply in over the original Φε, raising a burr round them, the following C was converted into €, and the I obliterated: traces of an ϵ can still be seen by the first π . But the alteration might have passed unnoticed if chance had not brought the two coins into the same collection.

There seems to be a somewhat similar instance of the borrowing and alteration of a die in a coin of Gabala struck in the name of Julia Domna. The reverse type is a distyle shrine, in which is a helmeted bust of Athene r. on a rectangular basis: the legend is $\Im[\Gamma]ABA\Lambda\in\{\Omega N\}$ and in the field r. $\bigvee MAP$

(Pl. II, 7; my collection). The coin looks as if the die had been a good deal cut about: and the letters in the field give a clue to its history. They occur similarly on a coin of Commodus of Laodikeia, which also has as reverse type a distyle shrine with a bust on a basis in it: but the bust is of the city goddess, turreted (Pl. II, 6; Brit. Mus.) From a comparison of the two coins it appears quite possible that the crown of turrets of the latter was deepened on the die into the helmet of Athene, and the legend ΙΟΥΛΙΕΩΝΤΩΝ KAIΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ cut out and replaced by ΓΑΒΑ- $\Lambda \in \Omega N$: in the process of alteration a good deal of the detail of the original type was blurred. The specimen of the coin of Domna in the British Museum (B. M. C. 10; here Pl. II, 8) also bears the appearance of having been struck from an altered die.

[The two cases last discussed are also of interest in connexion with the question whether the striking of coins was done for a number of towns at one centre. In Roman times, at any rate in Asia Minor, there seems a good deal of reason to think that one mint often served a fairly large district (thus the two coins of Phokaia and Smyrna in my collection, Pl. II, 9 and 10, and those of Prymnessos and Synnada, Pl. II, 11 and 12, from British Museum specimens, share the same obverse die): and it would be natural enough that small towns which only attained to the dignity of an issue of coins once or twice in a century should order them from the nearest regular mint Ephesos would be a convenient centre for Euippe, and Laodikeia for Gabala: and if such an arrangement existed, it would facilitate the transference of dies. This question is perhaps worth further investigation.]

2. Adjustment of dies.

The adjustment of dies may sometimes have been governed partly by their shape. I have called attention (Num. Chron. xviii, p. 315) to the fact that some coins of Smyrna of about 200 a.d. show instances of \$\^\$ and \$\\$ from the same dies; and probably examination of the eastern issues of the Roman empire would furnish many similar examples: the latest I have noticed is in two specimens of a Sagalassos coin of Claudius Gothicus. (Cf. also J. Mavrogordato in Num. Chron. xviii, p. 131). During the Roman period the practice in Asia Minor seems to have been to adjust the vertical axes of the dies, without keeping the top and bottom of the types in the same relative position.

At Alexandria, where in Roman times the dies were almost invariably placed \\\epsilon\rightarrow\ri

It may be worth noting that these exceptional coins

are of much thinner and more spread fabric than the ordinary rather dumpy tetradrachms of the Alexandrian mint: and most of the series of the Roman period in which the die-position fluctuates similarly are of a like fabric.

J. G. MILNE.

ON A HOARD OF COINS CHIEFLY OF KING STEPHEN.

(SEE PLATE III.)

This hoard of pennies and one halfpenny was found many years ago at South Kyme in Lincolnshire. The village in which they were unearthed was then, and may still be, part of the property of Earl Brownlow, and the hoard has been in the ownership of the family ever since its recovery. No particulars relative to the unearthing are now available owing to the lapse of time. The hoard is believed by the late owner to be complete. Judging by the condition of the coins and the number of scarce pieces contained in the hoard this is probably correct. The coins were as usual covered in part with oxide, chiefly of a brownish red colour, but greenish patches were occasionally visible. All the coins were separate; there was no matting. They have been carefully cleaned, and the majority are in excellent condition. South Kyme is six miles NE. of Sleaford and eighteen miles SE. of Lincoln.

There were 334 coins placed in my hands, of which 333 were pennies and one a cut halfpenny. Two kings were represented, viz. Henry I by eleven coins. There was also one mule combining an obverse of Henry I's last type and a reverse of Stephen's first issue. The remainder, 322 in number, must all be placed to the time when Stephen was king, though they do not all bear his name. These latter include six which

exhibit the obverse inscription **PERERIC**, one with the letters **IN** on the obverse attributable to the Empress Matilda, and one which for the present is indeterminate, and is possibly Scottish. Besides these, there are four which bear Stephen's name on the obverse, but which exhibit irregular or local workmanship in the use of non-regal irons, and one coin of Stephen of which the obverse die has been defaced by a cross cut from edge to edge. All the remaining coins, 306, were regal coins of King Stephen.

Henry I	11
Mule	1
Stephen	309
Defaced die	1
Stephen, irregular issues	4
"Pereric"	6
Matilda	1
Henry (?)	1
	334

Two types of Henry I were present, viz. one coin with a full face on the obverse and an ornamental cross on the reverse, described as type IV by Hawkins and as type X in the British Museum Catalogue of Norman Coins. Unfortunately, neither the mint-name nor that of the moneyer are sufficiently clear for identification. The others are all of the type Hawkins 255, described in the British Museum Catalogue as type XV, the last type of Henry I. The ten coins exhibit five mints: Bury St. Edmunds 1, Canterbury 2, London 2, Norwich 1, a mint beginning with **R** 1, Winchester 1. Two were illegible. It is somewhat unfortunate that nothing further can be made out on

the coin with the mint-name beginning with R, as apparently no mint with that initial is known of type XV. The mule, a new one, has for obverse that of Henry's last coinage and for reverse that of Stephen's This is in accord with most mules of other Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins, where the reverse is generally later than the obverse. It is unfortunate that the mint-name and that of the moneyer are quite illegible.

Particulars of the 312 coins of Stephen's first type, Hawkins 270, B.M.C., type I, are as follows. Both in the list and in the account of the find I have placed London first. The other mints are in alphabetical order.

THE LONDON MINT (45 COINS).

The coins from the London mint do not present any varieties of much importance. The variations consist chiefly in the spelling of some of the monevers' names. BRICMAR is shown on one coin as BRITMAR and on two others as BRIMAR. DERMAN is the reading on one piece of the commoner DEREMAN, and DERR - also occurs, the remainder of the name being obliterated on the coin but completed on a coin in the British Museum. The name **SMEPINE** also appears with the simple **E** taking the place of the RE.

Bristol (5 coins).

The name FARDEIN is now rendered clearly instead of a doubtful FARMAN occurring on a coin from the same die. The coin of the Empress Matilda in the hoard was also struck at this mint, and gives the reading BRIST.

BURY St. EDMUNDS (4 COINS).

The mint-name of this place seems to have been written in two different ways on the first type of Stephen. Either as **EDM**, concerning which there can be no doubt, or as **SA**, letters which might also stand for Salisbury, Shaftesbury, and Sandwich. It is not quite easy to be sure of the identity in this case, but the name of Gilbert appears on both varieties as moneyer, and this name does not appear at any of the other possible mints. The case is paralleled in short-cross times by the two readings **SANTGA**. The difficulty in this case, however, does not arise, as, at the time, Bury St. Edmunds was the only possible mint.

CANTERBURY (10 coins).

A new name appears here on the coin reading IVN:ON:CA.PA.

CHESTER (11 COINS).

The moneyer's name **ALMER** occurs as **AILMAR**, and the name **PALTR**, previously given to Leicester, must be added to the Chester mint, as the coins read **LESTR**.

Two coins from the same die with the mint-name **LEST** show a moneyer's name beginning with a **T** and ending **ER**. **THYRBERN** might be guessed at, as the name occurs at this place on the last type of Henry I.

CHICHESTER (1 COIN).

COLCHESTER (2 COINS).

EXETER (8 COINS).

An unusual name appears under this mint, of which only the last three letters LII are visible. There is also a coin by SIMVN from the same dies as the British Museum specimen.

GLOUCESTER (4 COINS).

HASTINGS (5 COINS).

A coin supplementing a specimen already published gives the undoubted name of PENSTAN as a moneyer at this mint.

HEREFORD (2 COINS).

Two spellings of the moneyer's name show this as PIERIE and PITRIE.

HUNTINGDON (1 COIN).

No coins of Huntingdon have been previously published in this type, and this, the only coin of its sort in the hoard, is attributed to Huntingdon on account of the similarity of the name GOIMER to GODMER, which occurs on a Huntingdon coin of type VII in the British Museum, and which is the hitherto sole representative of Huntingdon during Stephen's reign.

IPSWICH (11 COINS).

The coins from this mint throw light on some uncertain readings. ÆDGAR is the clear reading of one name. Equally clear is **EDMVND**. The moneyer's name beginning with O is OSBERN.

LAUNCESTON? (1 COIN).

The only specimen from this rare mint in the find is from the same dies as that already in the Museum. It is there queried to Launceston, and it is here left at that attribution.

LEICESTER (3 COINS).

One of the Leicester coins by **SAMAR** omits the hair.

Lewes (2 coins).

Already published.

Lincoln (50 coins).

The evidence of the coins from this mint is of unusual importance. In the first place, there are more examples from Lincoln than there are from any other mint, including London. The least number that must be attributed here is fifty-one, and possibly some of the quite illegible coins may have emanated from this mint, but I cannot be sure, as I am unable to find identical dies. The London coins, in the same way, would show a total of forty-five. This is really an enormous preponderance for one provincial mint, and I was so struck by it, that I concluded the hoard must have come from Lincolnshire before I knew where they were found. In this respect it adds greatly to the evidence brought forward by Mr. Andrew in relation to the Nottingham hoard, and the number of Nottingham coins found there.

The number of moneyers identified as striking at Lincoln is five, viz. Gladewine, Oslac, Raulf, Reinald, and Siward. Gladewine sometimes appears as **GLADEPIN** with a **P** (wen) for , and some-

times as GLADVINE, a V replacing the P, and a final E added to the name. All the former coins in the hoard begin the mint-name with an N, all with a V start with an L for the mint-name. There would seem to have been some doubt as to the initial of Oslac's name. All the coins in the hoard by this moneyer start with an O, but it is only fair to state that all fourteen are from the same pair of dies. Aslac is the spelling usually associated with the name. Oslac's coins in the hoard all read NICO. Raulf is represented on one coin by RAPVLF, and on another (under the uncertain coins, but I think there is little doubt about the reading of the mint) by RAVLF; in both cases the mint-name begins with L, not N. Reinald has hitherto been considered a Norwich moneyer, but as this hoard gives the readings of the mint-name NICOL and NI as well as N only, we must conclude that his activities were at Lincoln, not Norwich. The last moneyer SIWARD uses two forms of W in his name: when it is spelt with a P the mint-name begins with N, when it appears as SIGVARD (a new variation) the mintname becomes LI; so that here we find exactly the same variation as occurs with the coins bearing Gladewine's name. Now the substitution of the Roman or V for the Saxon P (wen) is a well-known evidence of lateness of issue, and we may therefore conclude that the spelling of the mint-name LI is later than that of MI. This is again borne out by other coins of Lincoln. The mint-name NICOL first appears on Norman coins late in the reign of Henry I. It continued in this form until the issue under Stephen just described, and then the change which appears

here was carried on into Henry II's first issue, where the name is still Lincoln. The change back to **NICOL** was made on the issue of the short-cross coins, and again changed, this time for good, on the long-cross coins.

Mr. Andrew, in the British Numismatic Journal, vol. X. points out that the successive shortening of the obverse legend on the first type of Stephen is evidence of the order in which the coins were issued. He places coins reading REX after the king's name before those ending RE or R alone, and these again before coins bearing the king's name only. The coins without an inner circle all seem to belong to this late class. Now the Lincoln coins in this find bear directly on this point. Gladwine and probably Reinald both issue coins with REX: Reinald also one with R: Gladwine one with the king's name spelt STIEFNE: Oslac with the same spelling, and with an inner circle; and Sipard without the inner circle. All of these coins bear the mint-name beginning N. Gladwine is then responsible for a coin with the king's name STIEFN. Raulf follows suit, and Siward, now extended in full to Siguard, issues one reading STIEFNE. All these pieces are without the inner circle, and spell the name LI. The coins thus bear out Mr. Andrew's classification, and this again shows that **NICOL** is the earlier form of the Lincoln mint-name on the first type of Stephen's coins. The importance of these conclusions is evident when reference is made to some other coins issued from the Lincoln mint during this period. I refer to those reading PERERIC as an obverse legend. They were issued by Raulf, spelling his name RAPVLF.

and by Siward, using the Saxon wen, SIPARD. They all read NICO as the mint-name, and examples by both moneyers were in the hoard. We can thus conclude that they were issued before the mintname was returned to its correct form, and before Gladwine and Raulf and Siward changed their Saxon for Roman letters. This still leaves in doubt the meaning of PERERIC, but it narrows down the time of issue of these curious coins, which may in the future be useful towards determining the issuer. I should here rather like to predict the possible appearance of a PERERIC coin by Gladwine, and I should also like to point out that the PERERIC coin by RAPVLF is the first Lincoln coin by this moneyer, and is followed by the regal coin bearing the same moneyer's name.

NORTHAMPTON (7 COINS).

The hoard proves conclusively that the suggested name of the moneyer as PAIEN is correct, a variant reading PAEN also occurs. The coin given here to Northampton by the moneyer STIEFNE is so placed because the mint-name begins with an upright, probably the first bar of an M, and also because the moneyer's name occurs on Northampton coins of Henry I, types XIII and XIV, and nowhere else.

Norwich (13 coins).

A coin by SPEDMAN gives the variation of the name of SPETMAN also

NOTTINGHAM (1 COIN).

Already published. The penny by SPEIN completes the halfpenny in the national collection which is from the same dies.

Oxford (3 coins).

RAPV adds two letters to the Oxford coin in Mr. S. M. Spink's collection, reading RA. The full moneyer's name is RAPVLF.

Pevensey (1 coin).

A coin in the hoard is attributed to this mint, although the first letter of the mint-name is not very clear, but several observers have recognized the letter. The **EV** are unmistakable. Only the first four letters of the moneyer's name are visible, **LERV**. This is presumably the same name that appears on Lewes coins as **LERREVI**, probably our Harvey. This is the first coin of Stephen's first type to be attributed to Pevensey. The mint itself seems to have been used very infrequently, as there are only known from it two types of William I, viz. V and VIII, and two of William II, the first and type III. It also figures in types II and VII of Stephen.

MINT-NAME BEGINNING WITH \mathbf{R} (1 coin).

It is unfortunately impossible to suggest the new mint or the moneyer. See p. 80, No. 276.

Salisbury (1 coin).

A penny in the hoard reads **STAII**. N:ON: **SA**. This is attributed to Salisbury on account of the moneyer's name. No coins of type I are known, but there is in the Museum a coin of type VII reading **STAN·HG:ON:SAL**. This is obviously the same moneyer, and **SA** here would appear to be Salisbury rather than any other mint beginning with the same letters.

SHAFTESBURY (1 COIN).

The mint is only represented by one coin from the same dies as that already in the national collection.

Southwark (4 coins).

This mint only adds a second reading of the king's name, **STIEFNE**: to the coins which were struck by the moneyer **ALFPINE**.

STAMFORD (6 COINS).

No fresh information is to be found on the Stamford coins contained in the hoard.

Sudbury (1 coin).

The only coin in the hoard from this scarce mint is one which shows two roundels, one on each limb of the cross on the reverse in the first and second quarters. A similar coin is described from the Sheldon hoard in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. VII, p. 75. The moneyer's name ends **RD**, and it is suggested that the full name is **EDPARD**.

MINT-NAME BEGINNING S: OR SA (5 COINS).

One of these may be Southwark, as the moneyer's name **GOD** ••• might be **GODRIL**. The mint-name is S: only. The two others, with the mint-name S: and S.•• cannot be assigned at present, and the same applies to the mint-name SA where the moneyer's name is deficient. All that can be further said about them is that they are all from different dies from any coin on which a moneyer's name would help conclusions. See p. 80, Nos. 277-81.

TAUNTON (1 COIN).

The only specimen from this mint does not differ from published coins.

THETFORD (8 COINS).

No new names or varieties are shown among the Thetford coins. Three of them show the curious colon: between the letters of the mint-name **TET:FORT**.

WILTON (10 coins).

Only one coin gives a variant, that by **TOMAS** spelling the mint-name **PILT**.

Winchester (17 coins).

The coins from this mint, although eighteen in number, provide no new names or varieties. Many of them are struck from identical dies, and, as such, make certain some of the previously doubtful readings.

Worcester (4 coins).

The moneyer **PVLFRIC** adds **STIEFNE**: to the list of obverse readings, and **PIR** to the mintname.

YORK (9 COINS).

A moneyer whose name begins **AS** will be found in the list. There were also two coins by **AVTGRIM**, a moneyer not represented in the national collection.

This completes the survey of coins of which the mint attributions are well-nigh certain. The hoard, however, contained many coins, some of which, by help of the moneyer's names or the recognition of identical dies, could be placed under their mint-names, though this was in part or entirely missing. The

task was not difficult if the moneyer's name was an unusual one, but with common names, such as ALFRED or ROBERT or such like, the absence of the mint-name precludes anything but a pure guess. Mint-names have only been suggested in the list where there appeared to be a reasonable chance of correctness. In this part of the list the following names occur which are certainly not published as occuring on Stephen's first type. BERTOLD, a new name altogether; SAFARE, a name occurring at Salisbury on the first type of William I, and possibly as SEFAROI on the eighth type of the same king at Wilton. The name is not in evidence again. VITORED is a new name. . TAN-GLVN: this name as STANGLVN occurs on an irregular coin with a mailed figure reading **LOM**. attributed by Mr. Andrew to Patrick Earl of Salisbury. The coin belongs to Lord Grantley, and is of the same type as that described in B. M. C., vol. I, p. cxxxii. The moneyer's name is suggested by Mr. Andrew as a variant of STANNING. ... SPNE and S. RILE are both unidentified.

IRREGULAR ISSUES.

Two interesting coins were found of Stephen's first type on which the obverses are from the same die and read **HISTILM**. The reverse of the first reads WI ... EM:ON: LA, and the coin shows rough work, the same on both sides. The second coin reads on the reverse WILLEM:ON: C-, and the work on this side is quite different from the work on the obverse. Both coins are doubtless struck at Carlisle, but certainly not from regal irons.

Another irregular coin resembling Stephen's first type shows the head completely surrounded by an inner circle. What remains of the obverse legend is [#S]TEI····REE. The reverse legend is #·····N:ON:ETP:. Though not of regal workmanship the style is fine. The head somewhat resembles that on the coin of Durham, B.M.C., Pl. LIX, No. 5, and the lettering is a reminder of that occurring on the coins of the Eustace class.

One other irregular coin of Stephen's first type was found in the hoard. The obverse, a rude head to the right, legend **HTIFNII**. The reverse legend appears to have been replaced by a number of **I**'s and colons.

There was a fine specimen of the Norwich coin by **EDSTAN** with the obverse die defaced with a large cross extending to the edges of the coin, such as is usually found on Norwich defaced coins.

Coins READING PERERIC.

The hoard was unusually rich in these scarce pieces. Six were found, of which four reading **PERERIC** were minted by the moneyer **RAPVLF**, all of which were struck from the same dies, and two, reading **PERERICM:**, by the moneyer **SIPARD**, also from identical dies. All the six coins emanated from the Lincoln mint.

THE EMPRESS MATILDA.

One coin of the Empress was also recovered in the hoard. It is of the usual coarse style of the coins such as is shown on Pl. LXI, Nos. 1 and 2 B.M.C. On the obverse IN is discernible, and the reverse reading BRIST enables us to add that it was struck at Bristol.

The last coin in the list is thoroughly unsatisfactory at present. It resembles Stephen's first type, but the legends on both sides are retrograde. Ha is apparently the beginning of the king's name, and something like **FON:D····ES**: may be traced on the reverse. The coin is base and of rough work, and may be Baronial or Scottish, or a contemporary forgery. An examination of the moneyers' names in the lists will show that Anglo-Saxon and foreign names, including Scandinavian, occurred in about equal numbers. The large majority of mints known to have been active in striking Stephen's first type were present in the hoard. Those which were absent were Bedford, Castle Rising (more probably Rye), Derby, Durham, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Warwick, and Watchet. Coins from all these mints occur very seldom, and many of them are now only known by a single specimen. In point of numbers the hoard just described exceeds all others except the Watford find of 1818 which contained nearly double the number of Stephen's coins together with a very large number of those of Henry I. Unfortunately the number of the Nottingham find of 1880 is not recorded. The contents of this hoard agree most nearly with those described from Nottingham, both finds contained one coin of Henry I, B.M.C., type X, and a small number of type XV of the same monarch, the intervening types were absent. Each hoard preserved the Norwich defaced type, the **PERERIC** type, and that of the Empress Matilda.

The earliest coin in the hoard is certainly Henry I, type X, but unfortunately it is not possible to give an accurate date to the type. Its position in the series as the tenth type seems to be well established both from the point of view of mules, and from its neighbours in finds. It is, however, interesting to note that in at least these two hoards types XI to XIV were missing.

It is difficult to point out the latest coin or to date it. Possibly A.D. 1141 would be a suggestion not far from a correct one. The currency of the country is well shown by the number of mints represented in the hoard, as well as by the number of irregular coins found. The owner could not have been particular as to whose coins he was hoarding, which shows that the intention of those making unofficial coins bore good fruit. Mention has already been made of the large number of Lincoln coins in this Lincolnshire hoard. The place where they were found, South Kyme, is about eighteen miles from Lincoln, and was the seat of a monastic establishment. Possibly the institution obtained its ready money direct from Lincoln, which might account for the large quantity of the Lincoln coins. These would then be mixed with coins from other sources in the treasure chest.

In conclusion I may add that just under 200 coins from this find have been added to the national collection.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS.

HENRY I.

B.M.C. Type X.

Obv .- Bust facing. Rev.—Cross Fleury. + RICON SREXA: +S RICON SI: (Uncertain) 21.3 grs. B.M.C. Type XV. Obv-Bust three quarters 1., with Rev.-Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury. sceptre. 2. HLENRIEVS: +GILLEBERT:ON:SA (Bury St. Edmunds. Gillebert.) 21 grs. +R TON: CAN: 3. Illegible. (Canterbury, Rodbert?) 20 grs. HISTON: **PILLELMI:ON:CAN** (Canterbury. Willelm.) 21.5 grs. ---N:LVND 5. Illegible. (London, Ædgar?) 21.3 grs. **HILENR** ---MVND:ON:LV-(London. Estmund?) 18.5 grs. **HLENRICUS** # ILP ON: NORPI (Norwich. Ailwi?) 20.4 grs. **HISENRIC** :ON:R_ (R --- ?) 18.3 grs. 9. **LEN**---N:PINE---(Winchester.) 15.1 grs. 10, 11. Illegible. Illegible. 21.4, 21.2 grs.

Mule of last type of Henry I and first type of Stephen.

Illegible.

Rev.—As Stephen, type T

(B.M.C.)

Obv.—As Henry I, type XV

(B.M.C.).

-M13

12.

STEPHEN.

Type I. B.M.C.

Rev. - Cross moline forming eight-Obv.—Bust to r. sceptre in right foil fleured internally. hand. London (45 coins). **FADELARD:ON:LVN:** ASTIEFNERE 13. Adelard. 21.8 grs. ASTIFNEREX: **FALFRED:ON:** 14. Alfred. 21.3 grs. H-RED-(same die) 15. Alfred. 21.9 grs. **HALFRED:ON:** 16. (same die) LIVINE: Alfred. 21.3 grs. 17. **#STIFN** RE (same die) Alfred. 23.0 grs. 18. **ASTIEFNE**: [HAL]FRED:ON:[LVN] Alfred. 20.8 grs. (no inner circle) (From same die as B.M.C., No. 58.) HAL-NILVN: 19. ASTIEFNER: Alfred? 22.6 grs. Illegible. ____N: 20. Alfred? 17.7 grs. [#ST]IF[NEREX:] #[B]ALD[EPIN:ON: 21 LVN: Baldwin. 22-3 grs. (From same die as B.M.C., No. 60.) 22. ASTIFNEREX: FBRICMAR-20.1 grs. Briemar. **4BRICMAR** HSTI-23. Bricmar. 20.5 grs.

ABRIC RON: L

Bricmar. 20.8 grs.

STIEFNE:

F 2

25.	STI-	#BRIEMAR:ON:L:
		Briemar. 18.4 grs.
26.	+STIEF	IEMAR——
		Briemar. 21.4 grs.
27.	Illegible.	#BRICMAR
		Briemar. 21.7 grs.
28.	4STIEFNE	*BRITMAR:ON:LV:
		Britmar. 19.2 grs.
29.	4STIMME:R:	#BRIMAR:ON:LVN
		Britmar. 22-2 grs.
30.	#STIE	,, (same die)
		Britmar. 20·1 grs.
31.	——E:RE%	—REMAN:0—
		Dereman. 18.8 grs.
32.	——NER:	#DEREMAN:0
	er AN had to 254 water or 254 to	Dereman. 19-1 grs.
33.	4STIEFNE:	#DEREMAN:ON:LV
0.4	. W.A. V Profit H. B. W. W. H. W.	Dereman. 21.3 grs.
34.	4STIEFNE:	4DERR—N:LV Dereman. 21.9 grs.
35.	#SNE:	
55.	TO-INE.	4DERMAN:ON: Dereman. 20.7 grs.
36.	STIEFNERE:	#EST ND: ON: LVN
JU.	(hair omitted)	Estmund. 20.8 grs.
37.	ER:	-S-ND:0·N:LVN-
٥,,		Estmund. 20.4 grs.
38.	——NER	±EST‱ND:ON:LVN
90,		Estmund. 20.8 grs.
39.	NE	#ESTON:LVN
		Estmund. 21.2 grs.
40.	——NER	—TMVN∭ON:LV
		Estmund. 20.8 grs.

41. #STIEFNE:	#GODRIEVS:ON:LV:	
	Godric. 21.1 grs.	
42. —— NE	#GODRI——N:LV:	
	Godric. 19.4 grs.	
43. #STI	——EVS:ON:L—	
	Godric. 187 grs.	
44. 4STIEFNER :	4GODRIE:ON:LVND: Godric. 21.8 grs.	
45. #S EFNE :	# 60DRIE:∭N:L—	
	Godric. 20.9 grs.	
46. ——NER	#LEFRE	
	Lefred. 18.9 grs.	
47. HSTIE ——	#RODBERT:ON:LV:	
১০ ্ড. ট ৌ দলত ল'লনত ত ল'ং • ল'≎	Rodbert. 21 grs.	
48. 4STIEFNE: R	4ROBERT:ON:LVND: Rodbert. 19.6 grs.	
49. ,, ,, (same die)	#ROBERT:ON:LV:	
	Rodbert. 21 grs.	
50. 4STIFNERE *	#SMEPINE:ON——	
: "	Smewine. 22.7 grs.	
51. 4STIEFN —	+SMEAPINE:ON:LV Smewine. 21-3 grs.	
52. Illegible.	#TOVI:ON:LVNDE	
	es as B.M.C., No. 72.) Tovi. 21.7 grs.	
	ON:LVM or ON:LV Uncertain. 20.5, 21.2, 21.3, 22.1 grs.	
57. Similar, but inner circle or	n obverse omitted. Uncertain. 18·6 grs.	
Bristol (5 coins).		
58-61. #STIFNEREX	+FARDEIN:ON:	
	BRIST:	
	Fardein. 19.5, 21, 21.8, 22.1 ors.	

Fardein. 19.5, 21, 21.8, 22.1 grs. (All from same dies as coin read tentatively as Farman in B.M.C., vol. i, p. cci.)

62.	Illegible.	———ON:BRIS: Uncertain. 21.9 grs.
Bur	ry St. Edmunds (4 coins).	
63,		#GILEBERT:ON:EDM same dies.) Gilebert. 21·1, 21·5 grs.
65.	#ST	egilebe
		Gilebert. 20 grs.
66.	RE*:	—LEBERTSSA Gilebert. 21-3 grs.
Can	terbury (10 coins).	
67.	+STIEFNE:	——PARD:ON:EA— Ædward? 17.5 grs.
68.	+STI-	+ÆDPARD
		Ædward? 20·1 grs.
69.	FN	4IVN:ON: Iun. 20:3 grs.
70.	+STIEF—	#RO——EAND Robert. 22 grs.
71.	± S——Ex:	#PILLE N:CANPA Willem. 19 grs.
72.	NEREX:	4PIE
		Willem. 19 grs.
7 3.	+STIE	#PILLAN
		Willem. 22.4 grs.
74.	#ST	4PILLE —NPA:
		Willem. 22.2 grs.
7 5	+STIEF—	#IIE:ON:EAN Uncertain. 19-6 grs.
76.	4 ——R	4 —— ON:C A Uncertain. 17.5 grs.

Chester (11 coins).

HALMER:ON:CES: 77. ASTIEFNE

(From same dies as B.M.C., No. 21.) Almer. 21.1 grs.

78-82. +STIEFNER: +AILMAR:ON:CES:

(All from same dies.) Almer. 19.5, 20.1, 20.3, 20.6(2) grs.

83. ——NERE: HRAVEN SPERT: ON:LE

(From same dies as B.M.C., No. 22.) Ravenswert. 20.4 grs.

84, 85. #STIEFNER #PALTR:ON:CESTR:

(From same reverse die.)

Walter. 20.5, 21.3 grs.

86, 87. **#STIEFN**— **#T**—**ER:ON:CEST**

(From same dies.) Perhaps Thurbern? 18.5, 20.1 grs.

Chichester (1 coin).

88. ASTIEF___

#GODPIN CICE:

Godwine. 17.5 grs.

Colchester (2 coins).

89. ASTIEF-

-PAR N:EO-

Edward. 18 grs.

90. +ST__NEREX _AMARM:0MCOL_

Uncertain. 21 grs.

Exeter (8 coins).

91. #STIEFUER: #AILRIC:ON:EXCES

(From same dies as B.M.C., No. 31.) Ailric. 21.4 grs.

92-4. +STIFNEREX +AIL MOON: EXCES

(From same dies.)

Ailric. 15.8, 20.7, 21.7 grs.

95, 96. —IEFNE **4BRITPI:ON:EXE:**

(From same dies.) Britwi. 17.6, 21.4 grs.

97. H_NEREX]: HSIMV[N:ON:_CE]

Simun. 22.8 grs.

(From same dies as B.M. coin not catalogued.)

98. **HSTIE** -- THION: EXTE-

Uncertain. 20.4 grs.

Gloucester (4 coins).

99. 4STIEFNERE: 4A[LFP]INE:ON: GOLPE:

Alfwine. 22.4 grs.

(Same dies as BR and SMS coins in B.M.C., vol. i, p. ccxi.)

100, 101. +ST—REX +GILLEBERD:ON:G—

(From same dies.) Gilleberd. 19, 21.5 grs.

102. +STIFN EREX +PIBERT:ON:GOPE: (From same dies as B.M.C., No. 33.) Wibert. 22 grs.

Hastings (5 coins).

103. ASTIEFNE

4SAPINE:ON:LAST:

Sawine. 20.4 grs.

104, 105. **#STIE**— and AST_E:

+SAPINE :: b

Sawine. 19, 20 grs.

(From same dies.)

106. ASTIEFNE:

#SA》IN——A舀

Sawine. 21.6 grs.

107. ——EFNE

#PENSTAN.O-

Wenstan. 20.3 grs.

Hereford (2 coins).

108. #S--EREX:

--PIERIE:ON:B--

Witric. 22.5 grs.

109. 4ST—ERE: 4PITRIC:ON:LEREF

Witric. 20.3 grs.

	하다 시 교통되다 고비를 되지 않다.	
Hunt	tingdon? (1 coin).	경험하다는 하는 존대는 다시다고 되었다.
110.	NER	#GOIMER:ON-N
		Godmer? 21 grs.
Ipsw	ich (11 coins).	
111,	112. 4ST E R :	≠ÆDGAR:0∭∭PE:
	(From	same dies.) Ædgar. 20, 21.8 grs.
113.	ASTIFFHER	#ÆDGAR:ON:—
		Ædgar. 21.5 grs.
114	#STI	#ÆDG
ira.		Ædgar. 19.4 grs.
442	T. A. PAT PAT T PA	
119.	+STIEFNE	HEDMVND:ON:GIP: Edmund. 18.7 grs.
		물건이 강경 아름이가요 맛요요? 하는데 이번 그래요요?
116,		+osber ≋:on:gipes
	(From	same dies.) Osbern. 18-2, 19-6 grs.
118,		+osbern:on:gip:
	(From	same dies.) Osbern. 18·1(2) grs.
120.	+STIEFN—	ERN:ON:G-
		Osbern. 19.6 grs.
121.	#STIEFNER	+OSBERN:ON:GIP
Laun	ceston? (1 coin).	
122.	[#STIFNE]REx:	4PILL
	(From same dies as	B.M.C., No. 44.) Willem? 21.5 grs.
Leice	ester (3 coins).	
	그렇게 되어 들고 말이 그렇게 모르겠다면 보이 들어 먹었다.	+Samar:on:∭Rec:
	(hair omitted)	Samar. 22-8 grs.
194		+SA™R:ON:ELRECE
1		Samar. 22.5 grs.
105	NE	강하다 하는 사람들은 살 때문에 나는 그를 다 했다.
L40.	(19 15년 - 1917년 - 1914년 - 1 1919년 - 1917년 - 1917년 - 1917년 - 1917년	H—N:ON:LERE: Uncertain. 14.5 grs.

21.5 grs.

N:LEPE:

RREVI-

(All from same dies.) Gladewin. 18.5, 21.4, 22 grs.

Uncertain.

Herrevi? (Lewes?). 20.4 grs.

(Cf. Rashleigh Sale, 1909, Lots 523, 525, and see also Pevensey below.)

128-30. **#STIFNEREX: #GLADEPIN:ON:NIC:**

131-36 ACTIFFMF. ACTADEDIMON'MI.

Lewes (2 coins).

127.

126. STIEFN_

Illegible.

Lincoln (50 coins).

(All from same dies.) Gladewin. 19·2, 20, 20·9, 21, 21·2 grs.
(no inner circle)	#GLADVINE:ON:LI Gladewin. 16-6, 19-2(3) grs. m same dies.)
141. 4STI	#GLADV—— Gladewin. 17.4 grs.
142. Illegible.	#GLADEP (double struck) Gladewin. 20-3 grs.
	HOSLAE:ON:NIEO: rom same dies.) Oslac. 20-22-3 grs.
160. #STIEFM (no inner circle) See also coin reading #RA	#—PVLF:ON:LI: Rawulf? (cf. "Pereric" coins). 19 grs. VLF:ON:LIN:? below, p. 80.
161. +STI —RE—	#REINALD:ON:NICOL Reinald. 21-5 grs.
	HREINALD:ON:N lies.) Reinald. 20, 20.6, 20.9, 21.3 grs.
166. Illegible.	TREIN Reinald. 19 grs.

167-9. — **NE·R** — **NALD:ON:L** (All from same dies.) Reinald. 17·7, 18·5, 18·7 grs.

(All from same dies.) Remaid. 177, 100, 107 gis

170, 171. **4STIEFNE 4RE MALD:ON:NI**• (From same dies.) Reinald. 20.8, 21.2.

172-5. **#STIEFNE** (no inner circle) **#SIGVARD:ON:LI** Sigward. 17, 17.4, 17.5. 18.3 grs.

176-8. **#STIEFNE #SIPARD:ON:NICO:** (no inner circle) Siward. 18-3, 18-8, 20-2 grs. (All from same dies.)

Northampton (7 coins).

179-82. **4STIFNERE***: **4PAIEN:ON: NORLAN:**

Paien. 21, 21·3, 21·5, 22·5 grs.

(All from same reverse, and probably same obverse die as S.M.S. and W.C.W. coins in B.M.C., vol. i, p. ccxxvii.)

183, 184. **#STIEF #PAEN:ON:NORL** (From the same dies.) Paien. 19.7, 21.6 grs.

185. **#STIE**Stiefne (Northampton?). 17·1 grs.

Norwich (13 coins).

186, 187. **#STIFNERE*** #AIL WI:ON:

HORPIE:

Ailwi. 19-8, 21-4 grs.

(Both from same reverse die as B.M.C., Nos. 77, 78.)

188. **#STIEFNE:RE #ALFPARD:0** Alfward (Norwich?). 17.8 grs.

189. —IFFRE* ★ETREI®N:NORPIC:

Etrei. 21.3 grs.

(Obverse of unusual coarse work, reverse from same die as B.M.C., No. 79.)

+STIFNE REX. +EVST A MEN. 190. NORPI: Eustace. 21.3 grs. (From same dies as Mint coin in B.M.C., vol. I, p. ccxxix.) 191. ——FNERE— HOT RPIC: Oterche? 20.3 grs. +SPEDMA[N:ON:N-] AST___EX 192. Swedman, 21.5 grs. (From same dies as P.C.B. coin in B.M.C., vol. I, p. ccxxix.) 193. #STIFNER #S MAN:ON:NOR Swedman, 22 grs. **4PALTIER:ON:NOR:** AS__NER: 194. Waltier. 19.6 grs. (From same reverse die as "Nottingham" coin in B.M.C., vol. I, p. cexxix.) O:ON:NORP: 195. ASTIENE: Uncertain. 17.2 grs. NORP: 196-8. Illegible. Uncertain. 20.4, 21, 21.8 grs.

Nottingham (1 coin).

199. +STIFNERE* +SPEIN:ON:

SNOTIG:

(From same dies as B.M.C., No. 86.) Swein. 21.1 grs.

Oxford (3 coins).

200-1. **#STIEFNERE: #GALAN:ON:O**(From same dies.) Gahan. 18-6, 19-2 grs.

202. **#S[TIEF]NER: #RAP*/>** Rawulf. 21.9 grs. (Same dies as a coin in B.M., not catalogued, but in similar condition.)

Pevensey? (1 coin).

203. **HSTIEFNE**:

4hery ON:Pev

Herv—? 20.5 grs.

Salisbury? (1 coin).

204. ASTIEF___

+STA--N:ON:SA

Stannin? 20.7 grs.

Shaftesbury (1 coin).

205. **#STIEFNER**[E:]

4RICARD:ON:SAFT:

Ricard. 21.8 grs.

Southwark (4 coins).

206. ASTIEFNE:

+ALFPINE:ON:

SVD: Alfwine. 19 grs.

207. Illegible.

#AL PINE: ON: SVD

Alfwine. 18.1 grs.

208, 209. **4STIEFNER**:

HALFPINE:ON:

SVD: Alfwine. 19.8, 21 grs.

(From same dies.)

Stamford (6 coins).

210, 211. **#STIEFNERE: #LEFSI:ON:STANF** (From same dies as B M.C., No 110.) Lefsi. 19·3, 21·5 grs.

212. **HSTIEFNE**:

+L-ON:STAN

Lefsi? 18.9 grs.

213. **#STIEFNE**:

#SIPARD:ON:STA

Siward. 19.6 grs.

214, 215. **+STIEFNERE: +S___N:STANFO:**

Siward? 20.5, 21.1 grs.

Sudbury? (1 coin).

216. **#STIEFNE:**R:

-D:ON:SVD

Uncertain. 17.5 grs.

(Large ball at ends of upper and right limbs of the reverse cross.)

Taunton (1 coin).

217. **HSTIEFNE**:

ALFRE

Alfred. 20.3 grs.

Thetford (8 coins).

218-20. **#STIFNERE*** **#BALDEPIN:ON:**

TETE:

Baldwin. 20.7, 21, 21.6 grs. (All from same dies as B.M.C., No. 106.)

221-3. **4STIFNERE*** **4ODE:ON:TET:FORT:**

Ode. 20.5(2), 21.6 grs.

(All from same dies as B.M.C., No. 109.)

224. STIFNEREX 4—N:TETE:

Uncertain. 21 grs.

225. Illegible.

H-N:TET:

Uncertain. 20.7 grs.

Wilton (10 coins).

226-8. **#STIEFNER: #FALCLE:ON:PILT:**

Falche. 16.4, 19.4, 21.7 grs.

(All from same dies as B.M.C., No. 115.)

229. STEENERE #FALCLE:ON:

ILTVN:

Falche. 22.5 grs.

230-2. #STIEFNER: #TOMAS:ON:PILTV

Tomas. 14, 19.8 grs. (All from same dies as P.C.B. coin in B.M.C., vol. I, p. ccxlvii.)

233. [#STI]EFNE[RE:] #TOMA[S:ON]: P[ILTVN]

Tomas. 19.3 grs. as S.M.S. coin in B.M.C., vol. I, p. cexlvii.)

(From same dies as S.M.S. coin in B.M.C., vol. I, p. ccxlvii.)

235. _____RE ___PILT__

Uncertain. 22·1 grs.

236. Illegible. **4**——**TV**—**TV**—

Double struck. 16-2 grs.

Winchester (17 coins).

237. **4STIEFNER: 4ALPOLD:ON:PIN**

Alwold. 21.4 grs.

238. —IEFNE: +AL—ON:PIN

Alwold. 22 grs.

289. **4STIEFNE** —IPPIG ON:PIN—

Ckippig or Kippig. 19.6 grs.

240. **+STI**—— **+E**——G:ON:PINE:

Ckippig or Kippig. 19.6 grs.

241-4. **4STIEFNER: 46EFRE** N:PINC:

(From same dies.) Gefrei. 17, 20·1(2), 20·7 grs.

245-7. #STIEFNE —IER:ON:PIN—

(From same dies.) Rogier? 20.8, 21.3, 21.4 grs.

248. —IEFNE: #ROGI——PIN

Rogier. 17.4 grs.

249. **ASTIEFNE**: **AROGIR:ON:PINCE**

Rogier. 21.3 grs.

250. +ST[IE--] +ROGI[RVS]:ON:PM

(From same dies as B.M.C., No. 127.) Rogier. 20.3 grs.

251, 252. **#STIEFN— #SIPARD:ON:PIN:**

(From same dies.)

Siward. 18.3, 19.6 grs.

253. **4STIFNE**— **4S**—N:PINCE:

Saiet or Siward. 17.6 grs.

Worcester (4 coins).

254, 255. Illegible. **460——PIREC:**

Godric. 18.9, 21.8 grs.

(Both from same reverse die as B.R. coin in B.M.C., vol. I, p. ccli.)

256. **4STIEFNE**: **4PVLFRIC:ON:PIR**

Wulfric. 21.2 grs.

257. [#ST]IF[NEREX:] #[PV]LFRIE:O[N: PIREC: (From same dies as B.M.C., No. 132.) Wulfric. 21.1 grs. York (9 coins). 259. **FS**——REX: HAS___ON:EV_ As--? 20.8 grs. 260. STIEFNER: HAVIGRIM:ON: EVER: Autgrim. 19.7 grs. (From same reverse die as B.R. coin in B.M.C., vol. I, p. ccli.) 261. Illegible. + TGR-N:EV-Autgrim. 19.8 grs. 262-4. #STIFINEREX: #TVRSTAN:ON: EVER: Turstan. 19, 20.1, 21.3 grs. (All from same dies as B.M.C., No. 135.) ---NERE: **4VLF:0 EVERPIC**: 265. Ulf. 22 grs. STIEFNE: 266. **TVLF:ON:EVERPIT** (From same dies as B.M.C., No. 137.) Ulf. 20-8 grs. 267 **HSTIEFNERE** ALA-EVERPI Laesing? 20.5 grs. Uncertain mints (57 coins). HIDP-DONIE 268. STIEFNER: (LO or LV?) 19.9 grs.

FALF-ON-P

Ipswich? or London? 21.8 grs.

——REX

269.

270.	#STIFNE	—DEPIN:ON—	
		Lincoln (Gladewin or E	Baldewin). 21·7 grs.
271.	(no inner circle, annulet on shoulder)		
272.	#STIEFNE (no inner circle)	ARD:ON: I. I	
273.	Illegible.	_LLESON:L	18·9 grs.
274.	Illegible.	он:L	19.3 grs.
275.	Illegible.	——он:но—	20·6 grs.
276.	+STIEF—	—LELSON:R—	16.5 grs.
277.	+STIEFNE:	460DON:S:	17.6 grs.
278.	#STIEFNER:	#old:on:8	
279.	+STIEFNER:	T. In our of	19.8 grs.
		#—RD:ON:S:	
280.	——NE:	4ON:SA:	
281.	EFNER-	———ARD:ON:穩-	18.6 grs.
282.	Illegible.	#ES:	
283.	Ex:	ON:ER	gr.s.
-00		11.541	- 22.6 grs.
284.	4STIEFNE:	#ALFPARD	
			19.9 grs.
285.	#STIEFNERE:	HARNPION:	0: 20·1 grs.
286.	+STIEFNE:	#BERTOLD:0-	+ 815.
			21.8 grs.
287.	NE:	ODEFREI	
			16.8 grs.

288.		OSEBER-	
		ODLINEIT	– 19 grs.
289.	STIEFNE_	#ROD-RT-I	
			18 grs.
290, 2		#RODBE——"E":	19, 21 grs.
292.	NERE*	#RODB	21.7 grs.
293.	#STIFNEREX:	—DBERT:OH—	
			21.4 grs.
294.	Illegible.	#RODB	19 grs.
295.	#ST	+SAFARE:ON-	
			20.9 grs.
296.	NEREX:	SPNE	22.2 grs.
297.	#ST	#S-RICE:ON:-	0-:
			21 grs.
298.	STIEFNERE:	_TANGLVN:01	1 —
			21.1 grs.
299.	+Stiefne:	RSTAN:0-	
			20·1 grs.
300.	——IEFNER·	●VLTDRED:ON-	
			20·1 grs.
301.	+STIE-	#PILLN	
			18.1 grs.
302.	#STIEFNER_	VLFPORD-	
			21.8 grs.
303.	Illegible.	+PVLFRIE ——	- 18-5 grs.
904			18.5 grs.
304.	NER:	VFPIN:	- 23 grs.
305.	R:	ARD:ON-L	
			20.9 grs.

NUMISM. CHRON., VOL. II, SERIES V.

IRREGULAR ISSUES.

Type of Stephen's first issue; rough work both sides. The two reverses differ in style. Mint probably Carlisle.

325, 326. HISTILN WILLEM:ON: CA

18.5, 18.9 grs.

(From same obverse die.)

Same type, but head in complete inner circle. Work fine on both sides, but not from regal irons. Lettering resembles that on the coins of the Eustace class, and the head that of the Durham coin (Rashleigh, lot 608).

327. _TEI__REE _ +___N:ON:ETB:

18.4 grs.

328. A coin of same type with legend apparently blundered, the obverse legend reads **HTIFIII**, and the reverse legend consists of a series of vertical strokes with two pellets occasionally inserted. Perhaps a contemporary forgery. Wt., 18.2 grs.

COIN WITH DEFACED OBVERSE DIE.

329. Obv.—#STIEF.— A large cross from edge to edge of the coin.

Rev.—#EDST—:NOR:

Weight. 19 grs.

PERERIC (6 coins, all of Lincoln).

***PERERIC**

Obverse.

330-3.

Reverse.

#RAPVLF:ON:NIEO:

20, 21·3(2), 21·7 grs.

(All from same dies as B.M.C., No. 233.)

385-6. **4PERERICM: 4SIPARD:ON:NICO**

18.6, 21.8 grs.

(Both from same dies as Roth coins in B.M.C., vol. I, p. lxxxii and Pl. LVII, 12.)

EMPRESS MATILDA (1 coin, of Bristol).

387. — Reverse.

BRIST 15-1 grs.

Usual type and usual style of these coins.

HENRY?

(retrograde) 16.7 grs.

Type of Stephen's first issue, of very rough work.

KEY TO PLATE III.

- 1. P. 75, No. 199.
 - 2. P. 69, No. 69.
- 3. P. 76, No. 216.
- 4. P. 82, No. 325.
- 5. P. 82, No. 326.
- 6. P. 76, No. 204.
- 7. P. 82, No. 327.
- 8. P. 83, No. 338.
- 9. P. 82, No. 328.

There has been slight confusion in the numbering of the coins in the above list. On p. 73, Nos. 131-6 represent only 5 coins; on p. 77, Nos. 230-2 represent only 2 coins; on p. 82, Nos. 330-4 represent only 4 coins; No. 258 is omitted. The total of the hoard is therefore 334 coins.

CHARLES I: A THREE-POUND PIECE OF SHREWSBURY.

(SEE PLATE III, Figs. 10, 11.)

THE following is the description of a hitherto unknown three-pound piece recently acquired by the British Museum.

Obv. Half-length figure of the king facing left, sword in the right hand. The left hand holds an olive branch which reaches upward to near the king's shoulder. The bust is in armour, and there is a short falling collar round the king's neck. The crown is surmounted by a large cross. A plume without bands is behind the king's head. A dotted inner circle surrounds the design. The bust does not nearly reach the inner circle below.

Legend: CAROLVS:D:G:MAG:BRIT:FRAN ET: HIBER:REX: A colon after every word where visible. No mint-mark.

Rev. Declaration in two wavy lines:

RELIG.PROT.LEG ANG.LIBER.PAR

A single pellet between each word.

Above the declaration 'III' a plume without bands at each side and above the numeral. Below the declaration the date 1642.

Legend: beginning on the left, EXVRGAT: DEVS: DISSIPENTVR:INIMICI: A colon after each word. No mint mark. Weight, 429 gr. [Pl. III. 10.]

The bust is slightly double-struck, and the last part of the N in FRAN and the colon following it are not visible, nor is the upper part of the colon after MAG to be seen.

All the known treble unites have hitherto been attributed, and probably correctly, to Oxford. This new coin has a very marked resemblance to the Oxford coins, especially to those dated 1642. The resemblances are important, but the differences in most cases are crucial. The obverse presents the same bust of the king on both coins. I think, indeed, that the same bust punch was used for both, but owing to the double striking visible on this new example I cannot speak with certainty. Measurements of the busts agree accurately. The inner circle on the new coin has a greater diameter than those on the Oxford coins, and consequently there is more field visible between the inner circle and the bust on the new coin than on those of Oxford, thus making the enclosed bust appear at first sight smaller. The obverse legend also differs from any of those of Oxford that I have seen in reading HIBER. The common reading is HI. There is no mint-mark on the new coin. The Oxford pieces show the Oxford plume with bands as a mint-mark. The plume in the field behind the king on the new coin is without bands. The plume on the Oxford coins in the same position always has these adjuncts.

The reverse shows equally interesting variations. The most noticeable is that the declaration is contained on two wavy bands only. All the other known treble unites present the declaration in three wavy lines. Like its obverse, the reverse of the new coin has no mint-mark. The Oxford coins always show a group of pellets after the last word of the legend INIMICI, when the declaration is completely contained within the inner circle, as it is on this fresh example, and on a few of the Oxford coins. When the scroll became continuous with the inner circle there was no room left for the pellets or a mint-mark. The third and last difference is in the plumes above the declaration. These are like that on the obverse: there are no bands. All the Oxford coins agree in having bands under the coronet. [Pl. III, No. 11.]

These variations have been described at some length in order to lay stress on the differences, particularly in the matter of the plumes. It may now be asked, on what coins do these bandless plumes occur? The answer is fairly simple. They occur, firstly, on Aberystwith-Shrewsbury mules where the declaration type forms the reverse; secondly, on all varieties of Shrewsbury coins from the silver pound piece to the silver shilling, all of them declaration coins.

The story of the removal of the mint from Aberystwith to Shrewsbury and then to Oxford is so well known that repetition here is unnecessary. The declaration type could not have been struck at Aberystwith, as King Charles's declaration was made at Wellington after Aberystwith had been abandoned. Bushell also tells us that he made declaration coins at Shrewsbury, to show the soldiers what they were fighting for.

He also admits having made at the same place pound pieces, half-pounds and crowns for army payment, and also that he called them medals because he had no instructions at Aberystwith, where he came from, to make any higher denominations than half-crowns. Some comparison of the new gold coin with the silver coins just quoted will reveal a curious connexion, and one of importance. It may or may not be known to students that the letter punches used on our English coins were, when possible, the same, although the denominations of the coins differed largely. It may come as a surprise to others, as it did to me, to learn that the nobles, halves and quarters of Edward III. together with the groats, half-groats, and pence, were all lettered with the same punches. The same faulty or broken punch constantly recurs on all these denominations. Perhaps still greater surprise will be expressed at the statement that all the gold and silver coins of Charles I, from the shilling upwards, were also lettered with the same size punches. This does not mean that every coin of Edward III or Charles I or others bore letters all of the same size, but that where letters of the same size could be used they were so used. Thus the letters on the groats of Edward III were the same size as on the other coins mentioned; the letters of the inner legend are larger; on the half-groats the letters are all the same size. With Charles I the declaration is sometimes of the same size as the letters around the coin, sometimes smaller. That means that sometimes the same letter punches were used, sometimes others. Now an accurate comparison of letters produced from perfect punches is a matter of some difficulty, but where a break or injury has occurred

to a punch a comparison is of the easiest sort. When this new coin was examined I at once looked for any flaws among the letters, and I found a C in INIMICI in which a part of the back of the letter showed a deep concavity, as if a mouse had nibbled a piece out of it. This C is reproduced on some examples of all denominations attributable to Shrewsbury from the pounds to the shillings, not on every coin or on both sides of the same coin. It also occurs on the Shrewsbury side of some of the Aberystwith-Shrewsbury coins. I have not seen it on a true Abervstwith coin. The punch evidently went to Oxford, as coins of different denominations here show the fault on some of those dated 1642 and 1643. After that I have ceased to find it. I endeavoured to trace the punch to Shrewsbury. Clearly it did not come from Aberystwith. York helped to supply Shrewsbury, but I could not find a York coin showing this particular damaged C. London was also available for a short period before the parliament stopped supplies, but a glance through the London coins also produced negative results. My conclusion, therefore, is that the punch in its damaged condition began to be used at Shrewsbury. The only other letter I have critically examined is the E. This has a very long lower stroke which passes to the back of the upright. The upper stroke is much shorter, and stops abruptly on its junction with the upright. I have not seen this E on any except Shrewsbury coins. It occurs on this gold coin, every E of which is from the same punch. The other letters no doubt would yield equally satisfactory results. but two examples of faults are enough.

Now a word as to the plumes. It was this peculiar

form of plume which first suggested to Hawkins the attribution of coins bearing it to Shrewsbury. There is a note to that effect in the first edition, 1841, of the Silver Coins of England. I could not find any further information or any admission of the attribution until Mr. Neck, in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1866, called attention to the probable correctness of the attribution. It took nearly another twenty years for the general numismatic public, collectors and dealers, to recognize the fact, as it was not till 1880 or thereabout that Shrewsbury coins began to be described, as such, in coin sale catalogues.

The peculiar plume, never with bands and sometimes without even the coronet, first appears on the Aberystwith-Shrewsbury reverses, and then on all Shrewsbury coins. I do not know of any Oxford coin, mule or otherwise, on which the plume appears without bands. It may be urged that on some of the 1644 and later half unites and sixpences of Oxford the plumes over the declaration miss the bands. I think, however, that the punch used for the production of these plumes was too large or too long to fit into the space to be filled in, and that the lower part was shortened partly by cutting away the band.

I am not aware that there is any special significance in these bands. The London coins with the plume mint-mark omit the bands when the plume is used as a mint-mark. When over the shield the plume always has bands. At Aberystwith it was much the same: the plume in the field often omitted the band, whereas that over the shield bore it. Of course, this unbanded Aberystwith plume has nothing in common with the Shrewsbury ornament, which is of a totally

different character. The plumes and the faulty letter punches, therefore, both agree in the attribution of this new gold coin to Shrewsbury. The fact that Bushell had not the right to strike gold at Aberystwith is no bar to the suggestion that he did strike it at Shrewsbury, where he also struck the large silver coins apparently on his own initiative.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

STEVEN VAN HERWIJCK.

MÉDAILLEUR ANVERSOIS (1557-65).

[Voir Planches iv, v.]

IL y a plus de cent cinquante ans que l'attention des historiens de l'art et particulièrement des numismates a été attirée par une série de merveilleuses médailles du commencement de la seconde moitié du xvre siècle, qui sont signées de ces lettres énigmatiques: STE., STE. H., STE. H.F., ou STE. H. FEC.

Le premier critique qui ait résolu ces abréviations semble être l'Anglais George Vertue (1684–1737), un graveur doublé d'un historien de l'art, qui a constitué dans la première moitié du xviiie siècle un recueil de notes sans suite, relatif à l'histoire de la peinture et des peintres en Angleterre, resté manuscrit. A propos de la médaille de William, marquis de Northampton, dont il signale un exemplaire d'argent aussi épais qu'une pièce d'une couronne, il se demande si la signature STE. H. F. ne doit pas se lire Stephen Holandus

¹ Les manuscrits de Vertue sont conservés au Musée britannique, où ils portent les cotes Add. Mss. 23070 à 23072. Ils ont été étudiés avec le plus grand soin par M. G. F. Hill, Stephen H., Medallist and Painter, Burlington Magazine, xii. 1907-8, pp. 355-63. C'est à cette étude que sont empruntées les notes ci-dessus. Il m'a paru inutile de refaire moi-même le travail accompli par M. Hill avec une critique parfaite.

[sic] fecit. Il ajoute que les médailles de William, comte de Pembroke, et de Sir Thomas Bodley lui paraissent être de la même main.

Plus loin, il donne un dessin sommaire de la médaille d'Anna Poines, dont on n'a pas encore retrouvé d'exemplaire de métal, en indiquant qu'elle est signée STE. H. F. et datée de 1562.

Enfin, à deux pages de distance, il trace le croquis de la médaille de William Parr, marquis de Northampton, en interprétant de nouveau la signature STE. H. par Stevens Holandus. Il considère cette pièce comme la preuve de la présence de l'artiste en Angleterre, et l'œuvre, par sa maîtrise, sa netteté, sa beauté et son bon goût, lui fait inférer que le médailleur était un sculpteur d'amples travaux qui faisait ses modèles en cire ou en argile pour ses médailles et aussi pour des monuments et des statues.

Cette interprétation des lettres STE. H. par Stephanus Holandus, pour barbare et fantaisiste qu'elle fût, a fait fortune. Depuis lors jusqu'aujourd'hui, en effet, dans l'histoire de l'art de la médaille, le mystérieux STE. H. est resté Étienne de Hollande. Si Vertue avait simplement consigné son hypothèse dans ses papiers, elle a été lancée avec succès comme une vérité, sans la moindre réserve, par Horace Walpole.

Horace Walpole (décédé en 1797), amateur d'art et homme de lettres, utilisa les notes de Vertue pour écrire un vaste ouvrage qu'il intitula Anecdotes sur la peinture en Angleterre.² Il n'hésita pas à identifier le médailleur avec un peintre et un sculpteur portant tous deux, d'après la manière dont il en parle, le nom

² Anecdotes of Painting in England. Second edition. Strawberry Hill, 1765.

de famille de Stephen, et dont Vertue avait fait mention sans les confondre avec le médailleur.

Outre ce dernier, Vertue avait en effet signalé un peintre Stevens dont il laisse, chaque fois qu'il le cite, le prénom en blanc; cet artiste est l'auteur d'une série de portraits dont deux sont encore conservés à Lumley Castle; il avait mentionné aussi un sculpteur, Richard Stephens, qui a élevé à Boreham le monument funéraire de Thomas Radcliffe, comte de Sussex.

Pour Walpole, ces trois personnes ne sont qu'un seul et même artiste, Richard Stephens,³ et, jusqu'il n'y a pas bien longtemps, les critiques les mieux avertis, comme M. G. F. Hill,⁴ se sont ingéniés à concilier ces conclusions avec les résultats obtenus par la critique.

Dès la fin du xviiie siècle, STE.H. est sacré par l'Histoire médallique d'Angleterre "le fameux Étienne de Hollande'. Il allait le rester pendant tout le xixe.

En effet, les traités généraux d'histoire de la médaille s'approprièrent Étienne de Hollande. Bolzenthal,⁶ en 1840, appelle le médailleur STE. H. Stephanus Hollandicus ou Steven van Holland.

Pinchart, dès 1860, adopta lui aussi Stephanus Hollandicus, mais rendit cette dénomination latine

³ "Richard Stephens above mentioned was a Dutchman, and no common artist. He was a statuary painter and medallist." *Anecdotes*, second edition, i, p. 173.

[&]quot;If it is necessary to connect Stephen the medallist and painter with Richard Stephens the sculptor, there is nothing (except the commonness of the name) to prevent our supposition that they were father and son," Burlington Magazine, xii. (1907-8), p. 363.

⁶ Pinkerton, The Medallic History of England. Londres, 1790, p. 25.

⁶ Bolzenthal, Skizzen zur Kunstgeschichte der modernen Medaillen-Arbeit (1429-1840). Berlin, 1840, p. 181.

⁷ A. Pinchart, Étienne van Hollant. (Revue belge de Numismatique, xvi, 1860, pp. 178-82.)

par Étienne van Hollant. Il supposa que cet artiste était natif d'Utrecht, et affirma — gratuitement, du reste — qu'au xve siècle une famille du nom de Van Hollant occupait à Utrecht les premières charges du magistrat. Dix ans plus tard, le même Pinchart, dans son Histoire de la Gravure en Médailles en Belgique, présentait Étienne Van Hollant comme un personnage parfaitement connu.

Pourtant de bons esprits n'étaient pas convaincus. Camille Picqué doutait d'Étienne de Hollande. Dans un remarquable article qu'il publia dans L'Art ancien à l'Exposition nationale belge (de 1880), il émit deux hypothèses nouvelles: le mystérieux STE.H.ne serait-il pas Steven Cronenborg de La Haye, élève de Frans Floris, et alors il faudrait lire Stephanus Haganus, ou bien, ne serait-ce pas le Stefano Budalie de Colandra (il faudrait lire alors de Hollandia) qui comparut devant la police papale en 1552? Dans l'impossibilité d'apporter des preuves à l'appui de ses suggestions, il se résigna à l'appeler Étienne de Hollande, conformément à la tradition.

Il faut attendre ensuite jusqu'en 1904 pour trouver la première étude d'ensemble sur notre médailleur. Le Dr Simonis la donna dans ses Nouvelles Contributions à l'Histoire de l'Art du Médailleur en Belgique. 10 Il reconnut que la personnalité de STE. H. avait échappé à toutes les investigations, même aux siennes; mais il constata que les premières médailles de cet artiste paraissaient avoir été exécutées à Utrecht, puisqu'elles représentaient des personnages de cette ville, et comme Utrecht est en Hollande, sans réfléchir

⁸ Bruxelles, 1870, p. 10.

⁹ Bruxelles, 1882, p. 115.

¹⁰ Bruxelles, 1904, pp. 187 et 188.

plus loin, il trouva l'interprétation des lettres STE. H. par Stephanus Hollandicus parfaitement justifiée.

Le premier travail vraiment critique qui remit les choses au point est dû à M. G. F. Hill. Il parut dans le Burlington Magazine en 1908.

M. Hill admit que le médailleur STE. H. était vraisemblablement originaire d'Utrecht, puisque ses premières médailles représentent des habitants de cette ville. Mais il montra que rendre H par Hollandicus est impossible. D'abord, au xvie siècle, on eût dit Batavus et non Hollandicus. Ensuite on ne prend pas le nom du pays que l'on habite; on n'adopte le nom de son pays que lorsqu'on est établi à l'étranger.

Il procéda ensuite à l'examen des manuscrits de George Vertue, et il démontra qu'il convient de séparer nettement le peintre Stephen du sculpteur Richard Stephens.

Mais il admit qu'il y avait probablement identité entre le peintre Stephen et le médailleur STE. H. Il établit la vie du sculpteur Richard Stephens. En 1571, celui-ci, qui était né en Brabant, habitait la paroisse Saint-Sauveur, à Southwark. Il avait environ 22 ans et résidait depuis quatre ans en Angleterre où il était accompagné de sa femme Jeanne, originaire de Gand, et de son fils âgé de 5 ans. Ces données excluent en effet tout rapport d'identité entre STE. H. et Richard Stephens.

Mais, comme le peintre Stephen avait exécuté à Bruxelles un portrait du comte d'Egmont, et le médailleur STE. H. celui de Georges d'Egmond, M. Hill était porté à faire de ces deux artistes une seule et même personne et, s'il avait quelque parenté avec le sculpteur, à voir dans ce dernier son fils.

Lorsque cet article parut, j'étudiais précisément la question, et je me proposais de la reprendre parce qu'il y avait dans l'exposé de M. Hill diverses obscurités. Le comte d'Egmond portraituré à Bruxelles par le peintre Stephen était certainement Lamoral d'Egmont, décapité par ordre du duc d'Albe, et non Georges d'Egmond, l'évêque d'Utrecht. D'autre part, si Stephen était le nom de famille du peintre, STE. était le prénom du médailleur. Mais je n'avais pas encore trouvé la solution du problème, et le conservateur en chef de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, à ce moment Henri Hymans, se vantait de posséder le mot de l'énigme, mais ne prétendait pas le révéler. C'est pourquoi je n'écrivis rien alors sur la question.

Henri Hymans se décida à faire connaître son secret en 1910, dans son Antonio Moro. 11 Il publia une lettre de Léon de Burbure à Louis Alvin dans laquelle STE. était attribué à un des Steynmolen de Malines. Évidemment cette prétendue révélation ne résistait pas à l'examen. STE. était un prénom et non un nom de famille. Et je marquai ma déception dans la Revue belge de Numismatique. 12

En 1911, M. S. Muller, ¹³ le savant archiviste d'Utrecht, publia à son tour une note sur STE. H. Il y avouait ne pouvoir résoudre l'énigme que cachaient ces initiales: les archives d'Utrecht, qu'il connaît mieux que personne, ne lui avaient rien fourni.

Enfin, en 1918, dans le Burlington Magazine, 14 M. Hill

¹¹ Bruxelles, 1910, pp. 108 et 109.

¹² Revue belge de Numismatique, lxviii, 1912, p. 104.

¹⁸ De Medailleur STE.H. te Utrecht. Tijdschrift van het Kon. Ned. Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde, xix, 1911, p. 177.

¹⁴ Pp. 45-9. M. G. F. Hill a résumé tout ce que l'on savait sur

est revenu sur la question. Il a dressé une liste critique fort bien établie des œuvres signées STE.H., il a fait connaître de nouvelles médailles, il a rectifié la confusion qu'il avait commise entre le comte d'Egmont et l'évêque d'Utrecht, et il a fort bien montré que STE.H. a dû être l'élève du médailleur inconnu qui a modelé les portraits d'Antoine de Tour et Taxis, de Frans Floris, de Renier van Busdal et de Jean Lotin. "S'il en est ainsi, conclut-il, il a probablement étudié en Flandre ou en Brabant, et, en effet, il est légitime de se demander si, après tout, c'était un Hollandais. L'hypothèse qu'il le fut est basée, en partie sur une interprétation erronée de l'initiale de son nom de famille, et en partie sur le fait qu'il apparaît d'abord travaillant à Utrecht."



Le premier point que je voudrais établir, c'est que STE. H. n'a pas plus de rapport avec le peintre Stephen qu'avec le sculpteur Richard Stephens.

En effet, à en croire Vertue, Stephen, pour le peintre, serait le nom de famille: chaque fois qu'il le cite, il laisse un blanc devant ce nom pour indiquer qu'il ignore le prénom de l'artiste. Or, STEphanus, dans la signature du médailleur, est un prénom, et H. l'initiale du nom de famille.

Mais l'opinion de Vertue ne doit pas néanmoins faire autorité, car le peintre Stephen était désigné en Angleterre par son prénom. Il s'appelait Steven vander Meulen.

Steven vander Meulen est entré comme élève dans l'atelier du peintre Willem van Clève à Anvers en

notre artiste dans Medals of the Renaissance, Oxford, 1920, pp. 132-4.

1543.¹⁵ Il fut reçu franc maître à la Gilde Saint-Luc à Anvers en 1552, en qualité de peintre.¹⁶

Comme tant d'autres de ses compatriotes, il fut séduit par la Réforme, et, ne se trouvant plus en sécurité aux Pays-Bas, il se rendit à Londres où il exerça son art, et où une fille lui naquit.¹⁷ Sa présence est attestée comme membre de l'Église des Pays-Bas dans la capitale de l'Angleterre, en 1561.¹⁸ Le 4 février 1562, il fut naturalisé anglais.¹⁹

C'est Steven vander Meulen qui est l'auteur du portrait du comte d'Egmont et des peintures conservées à Lumley Castle.

Le peintre Stevens ou Stephen et le médailleur Stephen n'ont donc rien de commun entre eux, pas plus qu'ils n'ont de rapport avec le sculpteur Richard Stephens. Le problème se présente donc de la manière suivante: retrouver l'artiste dont le prénom est en latin STEphanus, et dont le nom, en latin, commence par H. Si c'est un Flamand, comme c'est probable, dans sa langue maternelle il s'appellera Steven H. ou Steven van H. Où faut-il rechercher ce personnage?

* *

Si l'on s'en réfère aux œuvres qu'il a exécutées, STE H. se trouvait en 1558 à Utrecht; de 1559 à 1561

¹⁵ Les Liggeren, transcrits et annotés par Ph. Rombouts et Th. van Lerius, Anvers, s. d., i, p. 146.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 179-80.

^{17 &}quot;Stephanus vander Muelen, pictor, filiam habet hic natam." The Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, x. 1, 1900, p. 277.

18 Ibid., p. 283.

¹⁹ "Vander Muelen, Stephen, from the Dominion of the King of Spain, 4 Febr. 1562." The Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, viii, 1893, p. 241.

à Anvers; de 1561 à 1562 en Pologne; de 1562 à 1563 en Angleterre, et en 1564 à Utrecht.

Ces dates ne sont pas absolues. L'artiste a pu se déplacer au cours de la même année, sans que rien jusqu'à présent ne nous en avertisse. Il a pu arriver à Anvers déjà en 1558. Puisque M. Muller n'a rien découvert à Utrecht, c'est vers Anvers que j'orientai mes recherches.

Précisément en 1558, les registres de la Gilde Saint-Luc²⁰ indiquent parmi les noms des artistes reçus francs maîtres en cette année celui de *Steven van Hertwijck*, beeldsnijdere (portraitiste, sculpteur).

Serait-ce notre personnage?

Les registres de la Vierschaer, où sont consignées les admissions à la bourgeoisie, vont nous donner quelques renseignements complémentaires au sujet du même artiste: parmi les personnes reçues bourgeois d'Anvers le vendredi 1^{er} décembre 1559 figure Steven van Harwijck, Cornelissone, né à Utrecht, sculpteur, et, en marge, on lit la note suivante: "Aujourd'hui, 29 mars 1564, style de Brabant (donc, 1565), Steven van Harwijck est devenu bourgeois forain de cette ville, et il a payé les droits." ²¹

Bien que l'orthographe du nom soit légèrement différente, c'est bien le même personnage que l'artiste

²⁰ Les Liggeren, transcrits et annotés par Ph. Rombouts et Th. van Lerius, Anvers, s. d., i, p. 208.

²¹ Veneris 1^a decembris (1559).

[&]quot;Steuen van Harwijck, Cornelissone, geboren tot Utrecht, beeltsnijder. (En marge.) Op heden den XXIX^{en} dach martii 1564 stilo br. is steuen van Harwyck geworden buyten poirter deser stadt ende heeft betaelt de rechten."

Vierschaerboeck begonnen in den Jare 1559. Archives de la Ville d'Anvers, Vierschaerboeken, VII, s. d.

reçu à la Gilde Saint-Luc: le prénom de Steven est plutôt rare à Anvers, et la profession est la même.

Mais rien ne prouve jusqu'à présent que Steven van Hertwijck ou van Harwijck soit le mystérieux STE.H. On pourrait se trouver devant une pure coïncidence d'initiales. Il importe donc de rechercher des documents plus explicites, bien que les dates relevées pour Steven van Hertwijck ou van Harwijck coïncident singulièr ement avec celles de la carrière de STE.H.

* * *

L'on devenait bourgeois forain d'une ville lorsqu'on la quittaif pour aller résider ailleurs; Steven van Harwijck a donc quitté Anvers en 1565. Le registre de la Vierschaer mentionne qu'il a payé les droits. Il aurait donc pu ne pas les acquitter. Qui sait s'il n'a pas tenté de se soustraire à cette formalité onéreuse? Consultons donc les registres aux requêtes afin de voir s'il ne s'est pas adressé au magistrat en vue d'être exonéré de la taxe. Peut-être trouverons-nous là quelques renseignements sur notre artiste.

Précisément, le registre aux requêtes de 1565 renferme, aux dates des 26 et 27 mars, deux copies de suppliques de Steven van Herwijck transcrites de la main du greffier Martini. En voici la traduction:

"Remontre 22 et fait connaître en tout respect à vos

[&]quot;Aen myne heere enz.

Thoont ende geeft te kennen in alder reverentie uwe E. onderdanige steuen van Herwyck conterfeyter in madalie oft beeltsnyder, ingeseten poirter deser stadt, hoe dat hem suppliant voirhande gekomen zyn zekere wercken te maken voir de Coninginne van Engelant de welcke hy zal moeten maken daer te lande sulcx dat hem wel van noode zoude wesen derwaerts te vertrecken met zyn familie zoo tselve werck wel dueren zal ten minste drye jaere ende want hy tselve niet en derff bestaen zonder uwe eerw. consente te

honorables votre soumis Steven van Herwijck, portraitiste en médaille ou sculpteur, bourgeois citain de cette ville, comment à lui, suppliant, lui est arrivée la commande de certains travaux à exécuter pour la reine d'Angleterre, travaux qu'il devra exécuter là-bas au pays. Comme il lui serait bien nécessaire de partir là-bas avec sa famillé, comme le travail lui-même durera au moins trois ans, et vu qu'il ne peut accomplir cela sans votre consentement, étant à craindre, comme il le comprend, que, en partant d'ici avec sa famille, il pourrait perdre son droit de bourgeoisie, bien que cependant il n'ait nullement l'intention de rester

beduchtende zoo hy verstaet dat hy met zyn familie van hier vertreckende zijn poortereye zoude mogen verliesen hoe wel hy nochtans geens sins van meyninge en is metter woone van hier te blyuene maer hier weder te comen tselve werck by hem aengenomen volmaeckt wese, ende dat oyck de issuemeesters deser stadt mits zynen vertrecke hem zouden willen doen betaelen het recht van der yssue Bidt daeromme de vooirs, suppliant dat uwen Eerwgelieuen wille hem vyt sunderlingen gratie te accordeeren dat hy tzyner wedercompste zal mogen genieten zyn poirtereye, ende de yssuemeesters te ordonneren dat zy hem ter zake vanden yssue laten ongemolesteert mits borge stellene dat in zoo verre hy teynde vanden vooirs, dreye jaeren met zyn familie metten woonen niet weder en quaeme binnen deser stadt dat hy in dien geualle zoude betalene het recht van den yssue deser stadt competerende, dwelck doende, etc.

STEUEN VAN HERWIJCK.

Sal de suppliant desen aengaende hebben pacientie ten waere hy konste doen blycken dat hy ten dienste van der majesteyt vander coninginnen van Engelant hem sal moeten absenteren ende de tyt hierinne geruert vuyter stadt van hier wese.

In welken geualle ende tselue gebleken zijnde de suppliant zal genieten d'effect van het disposityff van dese requeste ter goeder beliefte ende contemplacien vanden voorscreuen heurdere majesteyt ende anders niet. Aldus gedaen XXIII martij XV° jaer ende LXIIII stylo brabantie.

Martini."

absent d'ici, mais de revenir ici après achèvement de l'ouvrage qu'il a entrepris, et comme aussi les maîtres de la sortie de cette ville, étant donné son départ, voudraient lui faire payer le droit d'issue, pour ces raisons ledit suppliant vous prie qu'il veuille bien vous plaire de lui accorder la grâce spéciale qu'à son retour il pourra jouir de son droit de bourgeoisie, et d'ordonner aux maîtres de la sortie de ne point le molester à cause de la sortie, à condition de donner caution, et que, pour autant qu'à l'expiration des trois années susdites il ne viendrait pas habiter dans cette ville avec sa famille, que, dans ce cas, il devrait payer le droit d'issue appartenant à cette ville, ce que faisant, etc.

Steven van Herwijck."

Le magistrat apposa sur cette supplique l'apostille suivante: "Que le suppliant prenne patience à ce sujet, à moins qu'il ne puisse démontrer qu'il devra s'absenter de cette ville pour le service de S. M. la reine d'Angleterre, et ce, pendant le temps indiqué ici. Dans ce cas, lorsqu'il aura démontré la chose, le suppliant jouira de l'effet de l'arrangement de cette requête suivant le bon plaisir et bon gré de la susdite majesté, et non autrement. Ainsi fait le 24 mars 1564, style de Brabant (1565)."

Le lendemain, Steven van Herwijck adressait au magistrat la nouvelle supplique suivante: 23

"Votre soumis Steven van Herwijck, portraitiste et

^{23 &}quot;Thoont ende geeft te kennen in alder oytmoet uwe onderdanighe Steuen van Herwyck, conterfeytere ende medalyeur oft beeltsnydere, hoe dat hy zekere dagen geleden aen uwen eerweerdigen gepresenteert heeft gehadt zekere requeste ten eynde dat gemeret hij aengenomen heeft gehadt te maeken zekere wereken voor de coningine van Engeland die welcke hy suppliant alreede begonst heeft omme het volmaecken van den welcken hem wel

médailleur ou sculpteur, vous fait connaître en toute humilité que, il y a quelques jours, il a présenté à vous honorables une certaine supplique, aux fins que, vu qu'il a accepté d'exécuter certains travaux pour la reine d'Angleterre, travaux que le suppliant a déjà commencés, il lui serait bien nécessaire, à lui suppliant, pour les terminer, de devoir y demeurer l'espace de trois ans, et qu'il plût à vos honorables, comme il reviendrait à la fin de ce travail, de le laisser jouir de son droit de bourgeoisie sans payer aucun droit d'issue. Sur cette

zoudde wesen van noode, aldaer den tyt van drye jaren te moeten wonen ende uwe eerweerdige gheliuen zoude zoo wanneer hy teynde vanden zelve werke wederquaeme te laten genieten zyne poirtereye zonder oijck te geuene eenich recht van Yssue, op welcke requeste uwe eerweerdige heeft gelieft te appostillerene dat thoonende de suppliant te wesene in den dienst vanden coninginne van Ingelant oft emmers de wercken maeckende tot haren behoeue. dat hy in dye gheualle zoude genieten deffect van zynder supplicatie ende . . . want hy suppliant tselue niet en can gethoonen, gemerckt hier niemandt en is die daeraff weet te spreken so men zulcke wercken secreet is houdende totten tyt toe de zelve volmaeckt zyn, zoo eest dat hy suppliant presenteert tselve uwen eerweerdigen onder eedt te verificeren ende daeraff ovek binnen den tyde van sesse weeken naestcommende behoirlyck certificatie in Ingelandt gepasseert ouer te zeyndene oft anderssins uwen Eerw. het recht van yssue te betaelene ende daervoir borge te stellen. Bit daeromme de voirseide suppliant dat uwe Eerw, gelieue willen hem te willen laten genieten deffect vander vooirs zynder iersten supplicatie te weten dat hy teynde van der voors, drye jare wederkeeren zal moegen genieten syne poirtereye ende nu van hier mogen vertrekken zonder recht van yssue te betaelene, mits oyck borge stellende dat en zoo verre tevnde vande vooirs. drye jare niet weder en quaeme, het selue recht van yssue alsdan te betaelene dwelck doende . . ."

"Is by myne heeren burgemeester ende schepene deser stad geappointeert dat de suppliant hem zal vuegen ende reguleren naevolgende der appostille op zynen voirgaenden requeste bij hem desen aengaende ouergegeuene. aldus gedaen XXVIIa martii 1564 stylo brabantie."

Archives de la Ville d'Anvers. Requestboeck, 1564, i, fo 236.

requête, il a plu à vos honorables d'apposer l'apostille que si le suppliant établit être au service de la reine d'Angleterre ou qu'il y exécute des travaux pour son compte, que dans ce cas, il jouirait de l'effet de sa requête. Mais, comme le suppliant ne peut le démontrer, vu qu'il n'y a ici personne qui sache en parler, attendu que l'on garde le secret sur de semblables œuvres jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient terminées, il se fait que le suppliant offre d'attester la chose à vos honorables sous serment, et aussi, dans l'espace des six prochaines semaines suivantes, d'envoyer un certificat établi en Angleterre, ou autrement, de payer à vos honorables le droit d'issue, et de donner caution pour cela. C'est pourquoi, le suppliant susdit prie vos honorables de vouloir bien le laisser jouir de l'effet de sa première requête susdite, à savoir que, à la fin des trois années susdites, il pourra revenir jouir de son droit de bourgeoisie, et pourra partir d'ici sans payer le droit d'issue, à condition de donner caution que, si à la fin des trois années susdites il ne revenait pas, lui-même payerait alors le droit d'issue. Ce que faisant, etc."

Le magistrat inscrivit sur la seconde supplique la note suivante: "Il est arrêté par Messieurs les bourgmestre et échevins de cette ville que le suppliant se comportera suivant l'apostille rendue sur la supplique précédente qu'il leur a remise. Ainsi fait le 27 mars 1564, style de Brabant (1565)."

La demande de Steven van Herwijck fut donc rejetée, c'est pourquoi, le 29 mars, il paya le droit d'issue, ainsi qu'on l'a vu ci-dessus.²⁴

* * *

Les documents que nous venons de publier résolvent

²⁴ Voy. plus haut, p. 99.

définitivement la question posée par les initiales mystérieuses STE. H.

Le prétendu Étienne de Hollande, c'est Steven van Herwijck, originaire d'Utrecht et fils de Cornélis van Herwijck, bourgeois d'Anvers, et franc maître de la Gilde Saint-Luc en cette ville.

Les documents que nous avons retrouvés écrivent son nom de trois manières:

- 1º Le registre de la Gilde Saint-Luc, van Hertwijck.
- 2º Le registre de la Vierschaer, van Harwijck.
- 3º Le registre aux requêtes, van Herwijck.

Bien que cette dernière pièce soit une copie de la main du greffier Martini, vu que l'orthographe van Herwijck se retrouve dans l'intérieur du document et dans la signature, c'est elle qu'il faut considérer comme celle de l'artiste lui-même.²⁵

L'identité de Stephen van Herwijck et du médailleur STE.H. est prouvée non seulement par les qualifications de portraitiste en médailles et de médailleur qu'il se

²⁵ M. O. van Kerkwijk a attiré mon attention sur une médaille publiée dans le Catalogue des Médailles du Cabinet de La Haye, qui m'avait échappé parce qu'elle y est classée, avec raison d'ailleurs, à 1569. C'est le portrait de Cornelia van Harwijck, une jeune femme d'environ trente ans, peut-être la sœur de l'artiste, puisque le père de celui-ci s'appelait Cornelis.

En voici la description:

CORNEA VAN HARWICK 1569. Buste à gauche de jeune fille portant une coiffe à pli retombant dans le dos.

Uniface 44 mm. — Plomb. Cabinet de La Haye.

Reproduite dans le Catalogue, pl. III, nº 262.

Si cette attribution est exacte, Van Harwick serait le nom véritable de l'artiste. Harwick est une petite localité prussienne, et les ancêtres de notre médailleur seraient originaires des pays du Rhin.

La médaille en question est d'un tout autre faire que celui de Stephen van Herwijck, et je ne sais à qui l'attribuer.

donne lui-même, mais par un détail des requêtes: il s'était déjà rendu en Angleterre, puisqu'il y avait commencé des travaux, et nous avons vu que STE.H. avait séjourné dans ce pays en 1562-3.

C'est encore en Angleterre qu'il s'est transporté après son départ d'Anvers. Or, les nombreux documents d'archives du règne d'Élisabeth qui ont été publiés dans ce pays sont muets à son sujet. Il devait cependant être chargé de travaux importants, puisque ceux-ci devaient durer trois ans. Ces travaux devaient être des œuvres de sculpture. Il semble donc que notre artiste ne les ait pas exécutés, sinon on en retrouverait mention dans les archives.²⁶

Pourtant, Steven van Herwijck est bien arrivé en

²⁶ On peut aussi se demander s'il est bien exact que Steven van Herwijck dût partir pour le compte de la reine d'Angleterre. Qu'il eût l'intention de se rendre en Angleterre, cela est fort naturel puisqu'il y avait déjà séjourné avec profit. Mais était-il bien engagé pour le compte de la souveraine, c'est ce que le silence des archives anglaises nous porte à mettre en doute.

En effet, il y a dans la seconde supplique de Steven van Herwijck un passage qui éveille le scepticisme: le magistrat d'Anvers lui avait réclamé des pièces établissant qu'il était au service de la reine. Or, l'artiste répond qu' "il n'y a (à Anvers) personne qui sache en parler".

Il y avait cependant à Anvers à cette époque un représentant anglais; si donc l'engagement avait été fait verbalement par l'intermédiaire de celui-ci, van Herwijck pouvait lui réclamer une attestation; si l'engagement avait été conclu par correspondance venue d'Angleterre, il pouvait produire les pièces.

Or, il déclare tout simplement ne rien pouvoir prouver, en invoquant un prétexte qui n'en est pas un: "que l'on garde le secret sur de semblables œuvres jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient terminées"!

Vu ces considérations, je pense que Steven van Herwijck voulait retourner en Angleterre pour son compte personnel, et qu'il a mis gratuitement en avant la reine d'Angleterre en nourrissant le vain espoir d'impressionner le magistrat d'Anvers par cette déclaration.

Angleterre; mais il est mort à Londres entre 1565 et 1567. En cette dernière année, sa femme y résidait avec ses enfants Abraham et Steven, et elle est qualifiée de veuve.²⁷

Comment connaissons-nous ces détails?

Les persécutions religieuses qui sévissaient aux Pays-Bas et en France contre les protestants avaient forcé de nombreuses personnes à se réfugier en Angleterre. Le gouvernement de la reine, inquiet, semblet-il, de la quantité de "maisons empestées par un plus grand nombre d'étrangers qu'il n'avait été de coutume précédemment", faisait faire des relevés de ceux-ci, avec leurs prénoms, noms, occupations, domicile, nationalité et souvent l'indication du culte auquel ils appartenaient.

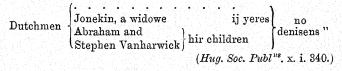
C'est grâce à ces listes qu'il a été possible de retrouver la femme et les enfants de Steven van Herwijck.

Un premier relevé, daté de Pâques 1567, constate la présence à Londres, depuis deux ans, de Jonekin, une veuve, et de ses enfants Abraham et Steven Vanharwick.²⁸ Ils sont qualifiés de Dutchmen, qui aujourd'hui

²⁸ Lansdowne MS. 10, ff. 16-60, No. 5. "Easter 1567.
An Account of Strangers in the several parts of London and Westminster.

At Easter 1567.

TOWER WARDE.



²⁷ Je dois à M. M. S. Giuseppi la communication des renseignements relatifs à la veuve et aux enfants de Steven van Herwijck. Je tiens à le remercier vivement de sa bonne obligeance.

doit se traduire par Hollandais, mais qui, au xvie siècle, s'appliquait aux habitants des Pays-Bas tout entiers.

Qu'il s'agisse de la veuve et des enfants de Steven van Herwijck, cela ne fait plus aucun doute lorsqu'on a consulté la liste dressée l'année suivante. En ce temps, dans la paroisse de S^t Dunstan, dans la maison du marchand Melchior Layt, habitait Johan Harwicke, veuve, et Stephen, son fils; ils avaient comme propriétaire Mr. Dymmocke, et fréquentaient l'église réformée des Pays-Bas.²⁹

Or, on sait que Steven van Herwijck avait fait le portrait de Maria Newce, femme de John Dymmock. Il est donc certain que Jeanne van Harwick et son fils

1568.

To the Right Honorable the Lordes and others of the Quenes Majesties moste Honorable Privie Counsell.

An. 1568. The Answer and Certificate of Sir Thomas Rowe, Knight, Maiour of the Cytye of London, of the nomber of Straungers, as well within the Cytie of London as in certeyne other Liberties and exempte Jurisdictions adjioyninge nighe vnto the same, bothe of men, women, and children of every nation aswell denysons as not denysons, with their names, surnames, and occupacions, and what houses be pestered with greater nomber of strangers then hathe of late tyme bene accustomed, and to whom they paye their rentes for the same, and howe many of them do resorte to eny of the Straungers Churches, accordinge to certeyne Instructions and Letteres from your Honors to me for that purpose addressed.

TOWER WARDE. St. Dunstons Parrish in the East.

Melchior Layt, merchant, and Katerine his wife, Katerine and Clare, their children; Johan Harwicke, widdowe, and Stephen hir sonne, beinge all Duche; their landlorde Mr. Dymmocke; and they goo to the Duche churche. Duche, vj.

(Hug. Soc. Publ"s. x. iii. 385.)

²⁹ "Lansdowne MS. 202.

Stephen sont bien la femme et l'enfant de Steven van Herwijck.

Le relevé des étrangers habitant Londres, dressé en mai 1571, nous apprend que Johanne Harwick, veuve, était née à Anvers; que son mari était graveur en pierres fines; qu'elle habitait Londres depuis six ans, et avait deux enfants, Abraham et Stephen.³⁰

Enfin, l'enquête faite au sujet des étrangers résidant à Londres et Southwarke le 10 novembre 1571 nous apprend, détail nouveau, que la veuve Jenachin van Harwicke était arrivée à Londres avec son mari six ans auparavant.³¹

"State Papers Dom. Eliz., Vol. 84. May 1570. Return [by the Lord Mayor?] of Strangers in London. [May 1571.] TOWER WARDE.

Katerine Delate, widowe, Duchwoman, and haith byne here thes iiii veres.

Duch. 1.

Thes persons followinge, soiorners within her house:—Johanne Harwick, widowe, borne in Andwerp; her husband was a cutter of stones for ringes; inhabiting here vj yeres; she haith ij children, Abraham and Stephen.

(Hug. Soc. Publⁿ⁸. x. i. 452.)

"State Papers Dom. Eliz., Vol. 82. 10 Nov. 1571. The Reporte of the Searche of all the Straungers wythin London and Southwerk and the Liberties thereof, made the xth daye of November."

TOWER WARDE. Sainte Dunstons Parishe

Jenachin van Harwicke, widowe, came here with her husband about vj yeres past; in her house are, Steven, a boy, Mankyn Comograunt, Tanakyn Garrat; Dauid Meiler, of Owdewer, came about iiij yeres past, Maudlyn his wif, Hester a child, and Haunce a boye.

Duch ix.

Duche church, ix.

De tous ces documents, il résulte que Steven van Herwijck avait épousé une Anversoise dont nous ne connaissons que le prénom, Jeanne; qu'il en eut deux fils, Abraham, né lui aussi à Anvers, et Steven, qui était encore un gamin en 1567.

A Londres, Steven van Herwijck s'est donné comme graveur en pierres fines; c'est là une profession que nous ne lui connaissions pas encore, mais qui est loin d'être incompatible avec l'art du médailleur surtout pour un artiste dont les œuvres accusent un fini poussé très loin. Mais en dépit de toutes les recherches que nous avons faites nous n'avons pas trouvé de pierres gravées portant la signature bien connue STE. H.

Steven van Herwijck est mort peu après son arrivée à Londres; sa femme était veuve à Pâques 1567. Nous ignorons quand elle mourut.

Ses enfants ne paraissent pas avoir suivi la carrière artistique. L'aîné, Abraham, quitta sa mère en 1568; il était marchand, et l'on constate sa présence à Londres jusqu'en 1598. Il mourut en cette année ou au début de l'année suivante.³²

Steven survécut à son aîné. En 1571 il habitait encore avec sa mère; puis on le perd de vue, pour le retrouver chez son frère en 1598.³³ On ignore quelle fut sa profession et quand il décéda.

* *

Bien que les documents d'archives qui ont été retrouvés soient formels, ils ne nous fournissent pas beaucoup de détails sur la carrière de notre médailleur. Il convient donc d'interroger également son œuvre

33 Ibid. xi. 340, 452; ii. 132; iii. 6, 335.

³² Publications of the Huguenot Soc., x. i. 340; ii. 24, 169, 206-12, 234, 321, 330, 389, 412, 428, 440, 442, 467; iii. 6, 60.

pour voir si elle ne nous permettra pas de compléter et d'étendre tout au moins dans une certaine mesure les renseignements qui ont été recueillis.

MÉDAILLES SIGNÉES ET DATÉES.

1. Georges d'Egmond, évêque d'Utrecht. — Dans un cercle de grènetis: D.GEORG.DEGMOND.EPS. TRAIECT.A°.1558.ÆT.SVE.54. Buste à gauche à mi-corps de Georges d'Egmond coiffé d'un bonnet et tenant des gants de la main droite. Au bas, contre le grènetis, STE.H.FEC.

Uniface. Plomb. 148 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. Autre exemplaire en bronze au Cabinet de Vienne. Exemplaire en étain au Musée archiépiscopal d'Utrecht. Fonte postérieure au Cabinet de La Haye.

Van Loon, i, p. 46; Simonis, p. 192 et pl. xix.

- 2. Georges d'Egmond. Dans un cercle de grènetis: D.GEORG. DEGMOND. EPS. TRA.ÆT.S.54.1558. Buste à droite de Georges d'Egmond, nu-tête, revêtu d'une riche chasuble.
- R/. Dans un cercle de grènetis, PIETATEM EXERCE. Les mains de Dieu, sortant d'un nuage, versant des pièces d'or sur un paysage. Au bas, STE. H. F.

Bronze. 68 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. Autre exemplaire au Cabinet de La Haye.

Van Mieris, ii, p. 403; Simonis, p. 193 et pl. xx. 1.

- 3. Corneille van Mierop. Dans un cercle de grènetis, COR. A. MIEROP. D. G. PPTS. ET. ARHI'. TRA. ÆT. S. 48. Buste à gauche de Corneille van Mierop, nu-tête.
- R/. Dans un cercle de grènetis, .DVRVM. PATIENTIA. FRANGO. A° 1558. Armoiries surmontées du chapeau d'archiprêtre. Au-dessous, STE. H. FEC.

Bronze. 78 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. Autre exemplaire, Cabinet de La Haye.

Van Mieris, iii, p. 125; Simonis, p. 196 et pl. xx. 3.

- 4. Gautier van Bijler.—Dans un cercle de grènetis, .D.GVALTHERVS.ABIILER.BAIVLIV'.TRA.ÆT. S. 53. Buste à droite de Gautier van Bijler, nu-tête.
- R/. MODERATA DVRANT. Armoiries. Au-dessous, STE.H.F.

Bronze. 78 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique.

Van Loon, i, p. 25; Simonis, p. 197 et pl. xx. 2. Voy. aussi S. Muller, Tijdschrift van het Kon. Ned. Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde, 1914, p. 176.

5. Engelken Tols — ENGELKEN. TOLS ÆT. Z8. A° 1558. Buste à gauche d'Engelken Tols, la tête couverte d'une coiffe. Derrière le buste, STE.

Uniface. 77 mm. Plomb. British Museum. Autre exemplaire en bronze au Cabinet de Vienne.

Simonis, p. 197, et pl. xxii. 3, Burlington Magazine, 1908, p. 362, et pl. i. 5. Pour la personnalité d'Engelken Tols, voy. S. Muller, Tijdschrift van het Kon. Ned. Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde, 1911, p. 179.

1559.

6. Floris Allewyn. — Dans un double filet linéaire, FLORIS. ALLEWIIN. ÆT. 37. 1559. Buste de Floris Allewyn à droite, nu-tête. Sur la coupe du bras, STE. H.

Uniface. Plomb. 68 mm. Académie royale de Sciences à Amsterdam. Autre exemplaire, Collection Maurice Rosenheim (Londres).

Simonis, p. 200 et pl. xxi. 2; Burlington Magazine, xxxiii, 1918, p. 54 et pl. B. Bulletin mensuel de Numismatique et d'Archéologie, i. (1881-2), p. 5.

- 7. Cecilia Veeselaer.—Dans un double filet linéaire . CESILIA . VEESELAR . ÆT . 37 . A° 1557. Buste à gauche de Cecilia Veeselaer coiffée d'un bonnet. Sur la coupe du bras, STE .
- R/. TROP. FIER. ABUSE. C. V. La Foi, debout à gauche sur une sorte de chapiteau contre lequel s'appuye un écu losangé aux armes de Veeselaer.

Plomb. 72 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de La Haye. Exemplaire en bronze du droit au Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique.

Simonis, p. 200 et pl. xxi. 1. Burlington Magazine, xxxiii, 1918. p. 54 et pl. C. Voy. aussi Bulletin mensuel de Numismatique et d'Archéologie, i. (1881-2), p. 5.

8. Jacob Bonaert.—IACOBVS. FABIVS. ÆT. 40. A° 1559. Buste à droite de Jacob Bonaert, nu-tête.

Uniface. Plomb. British Museum. De la Collection de Georges III. Burlington Magazine, xii. (1907-8), p. 362 et pl. i. 1.

Je crois retrouver Jacobus Fabius dans Jacob Bonaert, arpenteur juré de la ville d'Anvers et entrepreneur. C'est lui qui, en 1558, dressa le devis pour la construction du Knechtjenshuis, à Anvers, dont Charles Cockiel et Gilles Hooftmann étaient administrateurs. Il fit diverses fournitures pour la construction de cet hospice.³⁴

9. Pierre Panhuys. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, . PETER . PANHVIS . ÆT . 30 . A° 1559. Buste à droite de Pierre Panhuis, nu-tête.

R/. EN.ESPOIR.VIVE. Écu heaumé et lambrequiné. Au-dessous, STE.H.F.

Pierre Panhuys fut receveur d'Anvers en 1577,

³⁴ Voy. aux Archives des Hospices civils Rekeningen van het Knechtjenshuis, 1558, fo 2, 7, etc.

adjoint au Collège, la même année, trésorier en 1580 et 1581.

Argent. 46 mm. Cabinet de La Haye.

Revue belge de Numismatique, xxvi, 1870, p. 513 et pl. xi. 6; Simonis, p. 200 et pl. xxiii. 1.

10. Hans van den Broeck. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, HANS.VANDE. BROECK. ÆT. 31. A° 1559. Buste à droite de Hans van den Broeck, nu-tête. Sur la coupe du buste, STE. H.

R/. CHARITAS.OMNIA.SVFFERT. La Charité assise de face, allaitant un enfant; à sa droite, deux enfants nus qui s'embrassent. A sa gauche, un enfant assis qui joue avec un chien.

Plomb. 58 mm. Cabinet de La Haye. Exemplaires en bronze au Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique et en plomb au Musée britannique.³⁵

Van Loon, i, p. 347; Simonis, p. 202 et pl. xxiii. 4; Burlington Magazine, xii, 1907-8, p. 362, et pl. i. 7.

Hans van den Broeck était un grand marchand d'Anvers en relations d'affaires avec Thomas Therlaen, ainsi qu'on le verra plus loin. Il fut échevin en 1577, l'année où Pierre Panhuys fut adjoint au collège. Chalon (Revue belge de Numismatique, viii, 1852, p. 240) dit, sans citer ses sources, qu'il fut aumônier général ou administrateur des Hospices d'Anvers en 1572.

p. 252, un exemplaire du portrait de Hans van den Broeck, au revers duquel se trouve "un buste de dame, sans doute la femme de Jean vanden Broeck" (pl. viii). C'est le droit de la médaille de Blanca Pansana Carcania par Pietro Paolo Romano (Armand iii, p. 111, DD). Cette pièce, qui se trouvait en 1852 dans la collection E. C. Lefèvre à Gand, est tout simplement une médaille hybride. Armand l'a connue (iii, p. 112, a i. 233).

11. Bernard Walter. — Dans un double filet linéaire, .BERNARD. WALTER. ÆT. ZO. A° 1559. Buste à droite de Bernard Walter, nu-tête.

R/. Écu armorié sommé d'un casque et orné de lambrequins. Au-dessous STE.H.F.

Plomb. 67 mm. Musée britannique. Burlington Magazine, xxxiii, 1918, p. 54 et pl. A.A.

D'après ces armoiries, M. Hill a établi que Bernard Walter appartenait à une famille patricienne d'Augsbourg. Il a cependant été portraituré à Anvers, et c'est en vain que je l'ai cherché parmi les banquiers allemands établis dans la métropole à cette époque. Je n'ai pas trouvé mention de lui non plus dans la collection des lettres scabinales d'Anvers de cette époque qui est cependant très riche. Peut-être a-t-il fait faire son portrait au cours d'un séjour momentané sur les rives de l'Escaut.

1560.

12. Antoine van Blocklandt. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, ANTOINE. DE. BLOCKLANT. ÆT. Z6. NIET. SONDE. REDE. Buste d'Antoine van Blocklandt, nu-tête, à droite. Sur la coupe du bras, STE. H. 1560.

R/. PERFER.ET.OBDVRA. Enfant nu se cramponnant aux branches d'un palmier.

Plomb. 69 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de La Haye. Revue belge de Numismatique, xxvi (1870), p. 514 et pl. xii. Simonis, p. 203 et pl. xxi. 3.

Je ne suis pas bien certain que le revers appartienne à la médaille d'Antoine van Blocklandt. Dans toutes les médailles de Steven van Herwijck, lorsqu'elles possèdent un revers, il y a harmonie entre les deux faces: mêmes cercles de grènetis, mêmes filets linéaires, mêmes caractères. Ici, alors que le droit possède un cercle de grènetis, le revers n'en a pas; les lettres de l'inscription du revers sont plus grandes que celles du droit. Enfin, la devise de van Blocklandt figure au droit: NIET. SONDE. REDE. Ce doit donc être une médaille uniface, et le revers doit lui être étranger. Ce serait un exemplaire hybride. J'ai l'impression que ce revers est italien. Armand ne le mentionne pas.

13. Revers d'une médaille inconnue. — Dans un double filet linéaire. ASYLVM.MEVM.DEVS.1560.STE. H.F. Le globe terrestre, figuré par une boule crucigère, analogue au globe symbolique que tiennent en main les empereurs. Ce globe est percé de trous à gauche, à droite et au bas. Dans ces trous passe une corde qui est attachée à la cheville gauche d'un homme nu, vu de dos debout au haut du globe, et qui tend les bras vers le chiffre de Dieu qui brille dans le haut du champ dans l'épanouissement d'une gloire. La corde est tiraillée à gauche par la Volupté représentée par une femme nue, à droite, par la Mort, figurée par un squelette, au bas, par un démon cornu, arc-bouté d'un pied contre le globe. Elle est coupée par le glaive de feu de l'archange qui émerge au bout d'un bras des ténèbres qui enveloppent le monde et qui ne cèdent que devant l'éclat de la gloire divine.

Uniface. Bronze. 75 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de La Haye, $[\mathbf{Pl.~IV.~1.}]$

Cette composition "morale" est une des plus curieuses qu'ait exécutées Steven van Herwijck. M. Van Kerkwijk, le savant directeur du Cabinet des Médailles de La Haye, a eu la chance de la trouver récemment, et il a eu l'amabilité de me permettre de la publier. Le globe crucigère symbolise le siècle, le monde où nous vivons, où l'homme est tiraillé en tous sens par la Volupté, la Mort et le Démon. C'est seulement par l'assistance divine qu'il peut être débarrassé de ces ennemis qui s'appuyent sur les ténèbres enveloppant le monde. Cette pièce est un document attestant la profondeur du sentiment religieux chez Steven van Herwijck.

Il est à espérer qu'un heureux hasard fera connaître un jour le droit auquel ce revers se rapporte.

1561.

14. Charles Cockiel. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, CARLE. COCKIEL. Æ. 53. Buste à droite de Charles Cockiel coiffé d'un bonnet plat. Sur la coupe du buste, STE. H.

R/. Dans un cercle de grènetis PAS.A.PAS. PASSONS.1561. Écu heaumé et lambrequiné.

Bronze. 43 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique.

Simonis, p. 204 et pl. xxiii. 2.

Charles Cockiel était en 1558 et 1560 administrateur du Knechtjenshuis à Anvers, en même temps que Gillis Hooftman, et alors que Jacob Bonaert y travaillait (Archives des Hospices civils d'Anvers. Rekeningen van het Knechtjenshuis, 1558–85, fos 2, 6, etc.). Plus tard, il fut membre du Consistoire luthérien.

15. Thomas Therlaen. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, THOMAS THERLAEN. Buste à droite de Thomas Therlaen à mi-corps. A gauche, contre le grènetis, STE. H. A droite, 1561.

Uniface. 104 mm. Bronze. Cabinet des Médailles de La Haye. Plomb. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique.

Revue belge de Numismatique, xxvi. 1870, p. 515 et pl. xiii.

Simonis, p. 203 et pl. xxii. 1.

Thomas Therlaen était un marchand d'Anvers en rapport d'affaires avec Hans van den Broeck en 1566.³⁶

16. Thomas de Montrichier. — Dans un cercle de grènetis THOMAS. DE. MONTRICHIER. 1561. Buste à droite, nu-tête. Dans le champ, devant le menton, une fleur. Sur la coupe du bras, STE. H.

Uniface. Argent. 40 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de La Haye. Bronze. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique.

Simonis, p. 204 et pl. xxiii. 3. Koninklijk Kabinet van Munten, etc. Catalogus der nederlandsche. . . Gedenkpenningen, i, p. iii. 179.

En dépit des recherches les plus actives, je n'ai pas réussi à identifier ce personnage. Le portrait peut avoir été exécuté soit à Anvers, soit en Pologne. Je crois que c'est plutôt dans ce dernier pays qu'il a vu le jour; il y a un Montrichier en Suisse; ce Thomas, qui en aurait pris le nom, pourrait être un protestant suisse qui se trouvait à la cour de Sigismond Auguste. Il y avait alors pas mal de Suisses en Pologne où la tolérance du roi Sigismond Auguste attirait tous les protestants qui se sentaient menacés à l'ouest de l'Europe. Ce pourrait être un prédicateur; l'artiste lui a mis une fleur devant la bouche, ce n'est certes pas sans raison: la fleur est le symbole de l'éloquence.

17. Sigismond Auguste, roi de Pologne. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, SIGISMVND, AVGVSTVS.D. G. REX.POLONIÆ. A° 1561. Buste cuirassé de trois

³⁶ Archives de la Ville d'Anvers. Schepenbrieven, vol. 307, fo 263.

quarts à droite de Sigismond Auguste, nu-tête. Sur la coupe du buste, STE.H.F.

Uniface. Bronze. 84 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. Cabinet de Vienne.

Ed. Raczynski, Le Médaillier de Pologne, i, p. 71. Simonis, p. 206, et pl. xxiv. 1.

18. Catherine d'Autriche, reine de Pologne. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, CATHARINA. D. G. REGINA. POLONIÆ. Buste à gauche de Catherine d'Autriche coiffée d'un bonnet, sur la coupe du buste, STE. H.

Uniface. Bronze. 84 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique et Musée du Louvre.

Ed. Raczynski, Le Médaillier de Pologne, i, p. 71. Simonis, p. 217.

Raczynski donne cette pièce comme le revers de la précédente, ce qui est très vraisemblable. En tout cas, il a connu un exemplaire dont les n°s 17 et 18 formaient la face et le revers. Je ne les ai rencontrés que séparés. Simonis (p. 207) s'est trompé lorsqu'il dit que Luckius donne comme revers au n° 17 une aigle avec l'inscription IOVIS SACER. Il s'agit d'une autre médaille datée de 1564, qui n'est pas de Steven van Herwijck, et que l'on retrouve également dans Raczynski (i, p. 85).

1562.

19. Sigismond Auguste, roi de Pologne. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, SIGISMVND: AVGVSTVS.D.G. REX.POLONIÆ. Buste cuirassé à droite de Sigismond Auguste, nu-tête. Au-dessous, STE.H.F. D'après Domanig, Portrütmedaillen des Erzhauses Oesterreich, n° 91, elle est datée 1562.

R/. Dans un cercle de grènetis, . DA MIHI. VIRTV-TEM . CONTRA . HOSTES . TVOS. Le roi, brandissant une épée, sur un cheval qui se cabre à droite.

Argent. 41 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de Vienne. Raczynski, o. c. i, p. 83; Simonis, p. 209 et pl. xxv. 1.

20. Richard Martin et Dorcas Eglestone. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, RICHARD. MARTIN. ÆT. Z8. Aº 1562. Buste à droite de Richard Martin coiffé d'un bonnet plat. Sur la coupe du bras droit, en creux, STE. H.

R/. Dans un cercle de grènetis, DORCAS.EGLE-STONE.VX.RICHARD.MARTIN.ÆT.Zō. Buste à gauche de Dorcas Eglestone coiffée d'un bonnet pointu.

Argent. 58 mm. British Museum.

Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, i. 107.83. Simonis, p. 214 et pl. xxv. 3 et 4. Burlington Mayazine, xii. 1907-8, p. 361, pl. ii. 2.

21. Michel de Custelnau. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, MICHEL. DE. CASTELNAV. SEIG. DE. MAVVISSIERE. Buste à droite, nu-tête. Dans le champ, IN. ANGL. Sur la coupe du bras, 1562. STE. H.

Plomb. 54 mm. Musée britannique.

Medallic Illustrations, i. 113.42. Simonis, p. 214, et pl. xxvi. 6.

22. Guillaume, marquis de Northampton. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, GVILE. MARCHIO NORTHAMPTON. Buste cuirassé à droite du marquis de Northampton, nu-tête.

Sur la coupe du buste, STE. H. 1562.

Uniface. Argent. 40 mm. Collection Hunter (Université de Glasgow).

Medallic Illustrations, i. 103.28. Simonis, p. 215 et pl. xxv. 6.

:3. Élisabeth, marquise de Northampton. Dans un cercle de grènetis, ELIZABET. MARQVI. NORTHAMPTON. Buste à gauche de la marquise de Northampton, la tête couverte d'un voile retombant en arrière. Sur la coupe du buste, STE. H.F.

R/. Dans un cercle de grènetis, .SOLA.TVTA. FIDES. Aº 1562. La Foi debout, tenant un livre et s'appuyant sur une croix.

Argent. 40 mm. Musée britannique et Collection Hunter (Université de Glasgow).

Medallic Illustrations, i. 104.29. Simonis, p. 215 et pl. xxv. 5; Burlington Magazine, xii. (1907-8), p. 361, pl. ii. 3.

- 24. Guillaume, comte de Pembroke. Dans un cercle de grènetis, .GVILI.COMES.PENNEBROCK.Aº 1562. Buste cuirassé à droite. Sur la coupe du buste, STE.H.
- R/. Dans un cercle de grènetis, DRACO.HIC. VER'.VIRTVTV.CVSTOS. Femme debout à gauche, montrant de la main droite étendue un temple vers lequel elle se dirige accompagnée d'un dragon.

Argent. 44 mm. Musée britannique et Collection Hunter (Université de Glasgow).

Van Mieris, iii. 403. *Medallic Illustrations*, i. 104.30. Simonis, p. 216 et pl. xxvi. 1.

25. Anna Poines. — ANNA. POINES. VX. THO-MAS. HENEAGE. Buste à gauche d'Anna Poines, la tête couverte d'un voile tombant dans le dos. Sur la coupe du bras, 1562. STE. H. F.

Argent. Connu par un dessin de Vertue.

Medallic Illustrations, i. 105.39; Burlington Magazine, xii. (1907-8), p. 361, pl. ii. 1.

1564.

- 26. Hillegoent van Alendorp. Dans un cercle de grènetis, HILLEGOENT. VAN ALENDERP. Æ. 48. Sur la coupe du buste, STE. H.
- R/. Dans un cercle de grènetis, VXOR. IOAN. .WYCK. A° 1564. Ange tenant un écu armorié.

Plomb. 41 mm. Musée britannique. Burlington Magazine, xii. (1907-8), p. 362 et pl. i. 2.

MÉDATILES SIGNÉES ET NON DATÉES.

27. Bona Sforza.—Dans un cercle de grènetis, BONA. SFORCIA.D.G. REGINA.POLONIÆ. Buste de face de Bona Sforza, la tête couverte d'un voile.

Sur la coupe du buste, STE. H. F.

Uniface. Bronze. 87 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique.

Simonis, p. 207 et pl. xxiv. 3.

Cette médaille daterait de 1561 ou de 1562. Elle aurait été exécutée d'après un portrait: Bona Sforza était morte depuis quatre ans à l'arrivée de Steven van Herwijck en Pologne.

28. Jean Sigismond, roi de Hongrie. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, .IOANNES.SIGISMVND.D.G.REX. VNG. Buste de face de Jean Sigismond. Sur la coupe du buste, STE.H.

Uniface. Bronze. 85 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique.

Simonis, p. 208 et pl. xxiv. 4.

D'après Simonis et M. Hill, cette médaille daterait également de 1561 ou de 1562.

29. Edmond Withipoll. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, EDMVND WITHIPOLL. Æ. 48. Buste d'Edmond Withipoll de trois quarts à gauche et coiffé d'un bonnet plat. Sur la coupe du bras, STE. H. F.

Uniface. Argent. 44 mm. Musée britannique. Medallic Illustrations, i. 108.34. Simonis, 215 et pl. xxv. 2.

Cette médaille date de 1562. Il en existe une autre du même personnage, que l'on peut attribuer également à Steven van Herwijck, qui porte la date de 1562 et qui donne aussi à Withipoll l'âge de 48 ans.

- 30. Thomas Stanley. Dans un cercle de grènetis, THOMAS STANLEY. Buste à droite de Thomas Stanley, coiffé d'un bonnet plat. Sur la coupe du bras, STE. H.
- R/. Dans un cercle de grènetis, armoiries heaumées et lambrequinées.

Argent. 43 mm. Musée britannique. Medallic Illustrations, i. 105.32. Simonis, p. 215 et pl. xxvi. 5. Cette pièce date de 1562.

31. Maria Newce. — Dans un cercle de grènetis. MARIA. NEWCE. VX. IOHS. DIMOCK. Buste à gauche de Maria Newce, la tête couverte d'un voile tombant dans le dos. Sur la coupe du buste, STE. H.

R/. Dans un cercle de grènetis, .SICVT.CERV' AD.FONTES.AQVARV. Jeune femme debout à gauche retenant par les bois un cerf qui se dirige vers une fontaine.

Argent. 40 mm. Musée britannique.

Medallic Illustrations, i. 109.36. Simonis, p. 216 et pl. xxv. 4.

Cette médaille daterait de vers 1562, mais on pourrait tout aussi bien supposer qu'elle est de 1565 ou de 1566, surtout à cause de la finesse de la gravure: Steven van Herwijck s'est occupé de la gravure des pierres fines lors de son second séjour en Angleterre, et la finesse requise pour ce travail peut avoir influencé ses médailles; de plus, c'est en 1568 que nous voyons sa femme et ses enfants sous la protection de Mr. Dimmock.

32. La dévideuse. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, .DABIT, HIS. DEVS. QVOQ, FINEM. Dévideuse assise à gauche, enroulant sur un dévidoir le fil d'une quenouille. A l'exergue, STE. H.

Uniface. Plomb. 58 mm. Musée britannique. H. Hymans, Antonio Moro, pp. 108 et 109. Burlington Magazine,

xii. (1907-8), p. 365, pl. i. 4.

Ce revers se trouve aussi adossé au Musée britannique à une médaille en bronze à l'effigie d'Antonio Moro, à laquelle il n'appartient pas: d'abord on connaît le véritable revers de la médaille d'Antonio Moro: il représente la peinture (Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique); ensuite, il est de 1 millimètre à 1 millimètre et demi plus petit que la médaille d'Antonio Moro; enfin, la composition n'a pas de sens appliquée au revers du portrait du grand peintre. Pour ces trois raisons, j'estime qu'il doit en être séparé. Nous ne connaissons pas la pièce à laquelle il appartient.

33. L'Amour. — Dans un filet linéaire, SONDER. LIEFDE. IST. AL. NIET. L'Amour debout à droite, tenant des deux mains son arc débandé, le pied gauche sur son carquois. Au-dessous, sur le terrain, STE. H. F.

Uniface. Plomb. 76.5 mm. Musée britannique.

34. Méreau d'une gilde d'armuriers. — Dans un cercle de grènetis, WIE.DIT.ONTFAN.EN.NIET.VE-DER.EN.BRING. Saint-Éloi debout de face, appuyé sur sa crosse.

R/. VERBVERT.EEN.PONT.WAS. Armurier travaillant à gauche. A l'exergue, STE.H.FEC.

Laiton. 42 mm. Musée britannique. Burlington Magazine, xii. (1907-8), p. 362 et pl. i. 6.

Ce méreau a été publié par L. Minard van Hoorebeke (Description de méreaux...des Gildes et corps de métiers, Gand, 1877, t. i, p. 291) comme appartenant aux heaumiers et chaudronniers (Helm en Koperslagers), branche de la corporation des forgerons de Gand.

Cette attribution est erronée: M. Ch. Gilleman a bien voulu à ma demande examiner les archives de cette corporation, et il n'a trouvé aucune trace ni du méreau, ni de l'amende qui est stipulée sur la pièce.

Je n'ai pu identifier ni la ville ni la corporation à laquelle appartient ce document. Il ressort de recherches faites à Utrecht par M. S. Muller que ce ne peut être pour cette ville. Je ne crois pas que ce soit pour Anvers, les méreaux anversois de cette époque portant tous la main locale. De plus, il existe un méreau anversois des armuriers daté de 1557.

35. Sainte Face. — Dans un ovale de grènetis, .WLTVS. DOMINI. IN. GAVDIO. LETIFICAT. ET. ADIMPLET. ME. LETICIA. PSAL. Ange ailé de face, à mi-corps, tenant devant lui la Vérorique. Sous le coude droit de l'ange, contre le grènetis, en descendant, STE. H. FEC.

Plaque rectangulaire, $111 \times 145\,$ mm. Plomb. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique.

Simonis, pl. F.

36. Bacchus. — Buste à droite de Bacchus couronné de pampres. Sur la coupe du buste, STE.H. (TE est peu visible).

Bronze. 77 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. [Pl. V. 1.]

Médailles non signées attribuées à Steven van Herwijck.

37. Cérès. — Buste à gauche de Cérès coiffée d'épis et de fleurs.

Bronze. 77 mm. Musée britannique. [Pl. V. 2.]

Cette pièce est le pendant du Bacchus décrit sous

le n° 36. L'exemplaire du Musée britannique me paraît être un surmoulé postérieur : il présente un affaissement des reliefs, et la signature a disparu de la coupe du buste. Il serait intéressant d'en retrouver un bon exemplaire. C'est M.G. F. Hill qui m'a signalé celui-ci et m'en a procuré un moulage.

38. Edmond Withipol.—Dans un cercle de grènetis, EDMVND WITHIPOL.ÆT. 48. Buste à droite d'Edmond Withipol, nu-tête, en toge. Sur la coupe du bras. 1562.

Argent. Musée britannique.

Medallic Illustrations, i. 109.35. Simonis, p. 215 et pl. xxv. 3.

Il n'est pas douteux que cette pièce ne soit de Steven van Herwijck. Ce sont ses caractères, c'est son travail pendant son séjour en Angleterre.

39. Cassiano del Pozzo.—[C]ASSIAN[VS].PVTEVS. RH [EAN]I. DNVS. SEN. PEDEM. P. PR. Æ. S. 59. Buste de trois quarts à gauche de Cassiano del Pozzo, coiffé d'un bonnet, vêtu d'un manteau ouvert à collet relevé et d'un pourpoint boutonné.

Modèle en cire sur ardoise. 100 mm. Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. [Pl. IV. 2.]

A. Riechmann et C^{ic} . Auctionscatalog, xviii. Halle-sur-Saale, 1921, n^o 899 et pl. xxix.

Ce personnage a été mal identifié par les vendeurs qui en ont fait un Néerlandais, Cassian van Put, faute d'avoir compris les légendes. Celles-ci devaient se lire Cassianus Puteus, Rheani Dominus, senatus Pedemontensis primus praeses. Aetatis suae 59. Le catalogue donne 45 (?), mais c'est une mauvaise lecture, la pièce porte distinctement 59, mais du 5 il ne reste que la boucle inférieure.

Cassiano del Pozzo, seigneur de Reani, est né à

Bubel, en Piémont, en 1498. Il devint premier président du Sénat de Piémont. C'était un jurisconsulte éminent auquel on doit des ouvrages de droit. Il fut employé comme ambassadeur par les ducs Charles et Emmanuel Philibert de Savoie, à diverses reprises, et mourut en 1578. Il fut enterré à Turin dans l'église Saint-Augustin.³⁷

Il n'y a pas de doute que cette pièce remarquable ne soit de la main de Steven van Herwijck. La facture est identique à celles des médailles de Bona Sforza et de Jean Sigismond. C'est de plus la même pose et le même collet relevé.

M. Hill a aussi donné le portrait d'Antonio Moro à STE.H. Mais la facture de celui-ci me paraît fort différente des œuvres connues, et il me semble d'une autre main. Jusqu'à plus ample informé, je considère cette attribution comme douteuse.

D'autres médailles ont été données certainement à tort à Steven van Herwijck. M. Hill en a fait justice dans le Burlington Magazine, xxxiii, 1918, p. 59. Nous nous bornerons à les citer: Robert Dudley, comte de Leicester; Sir Thomas Bodley; le pape Adrien VI; Jérôme van Tuyl, seigneur de Seroskerke; Pietro Piantanida; Melchior Lorichs; Isabelle de Hongrie; deux médailles de Sigismond Auguste, roi de Pologne; Henri VIII, "Justus Fit"; une femme voilée et les médailles de Sigismond Auguste de 1571 et 1572.38

* * *

Si nous tâchons d'assigner une date aux médailles

³⁷ Voyez A. Rossotti, Syllubus scriptorum Pedemontii. Monteregali, 1667, p. 151.

³⁸ Quant à la médaille de Gillis Hooftman que Simonis a attribuée à Étienne de Hollande, je n'ai pas réussi à la retrouver au Musée du Steen à Anvers où l'auteur précité déclare l'avoir vue.

qui n'en portent point en nous aidant des données biographiques complétées par l'étude des pièces datées, nous nous trouvons de suite en présence de difficultés.

De par son allure et sa composition, la médaille de Cassiano del Pozzo s'apparente à celles de Bona Sforza et de Jean Casimir. On a admis jusqu'à présent que celles-ci dataient de 1561 ou 1562,³⁹ époque du séjour de Steven van Herwijck en Pologne. Si ces données sont exactes, il s'ensuivrait que le portrait de Cassiano del Pozzo aurait été lui aussi exécuté dans ce pays.

Or, il semble bien que ce ne soit pas possible: d'abord Cassiano del Pozzo ne paraît pas s'être jamais rendu à la cour de Sigismond Auguste, et nous savons qu'en 1562 il se trouva en ambassade en France; 40 ensuite, puisque sur son portrait del Pozzo a 59 ans, la médaille a été modelée en 1557.

Elle ne peut donc pas avoir été exécutée en Pologne. On a admis avec Simonis que le portrait de Bona Sforza a été modelé en Pologne après la mort de la reine-mère, d'après une peinture ou un dessin.

C'est hautement improbable : la reine-mère était brouillée à mort avec Sigismond Auguste depuis longtemps et c'eût été un acte d'insigne maladresse de la part du médailleur de présenter ce portrait à son fils.

On sait en effet que Bona Sforza avait quitté la Pologne en février 1556, pour se retirer dans ses domaines d'Italie. Or, de grandes difficultés avaient été opposées à son départ. Un édit royal avait menacé tous les nobles qui lui prêteraient assistance, les uns de la

³⁹ M. Hill a toutefois fait suivre ces dates d'un point d'interrogation.

⁴⁰ L. della Chiesa, Dell' Istoria di Piemonte, Turin, 1777, p. 157.

perte de l'honneur, les autres de la peine de mort. Elle ne fut autorisée à partir qu'après avoir abandonné les privilèges qu'elle avait sur ses biens. Lorsqu'elle mourut en 1558, elle légua par testament à Philippe II ses principautés de Bari et de Rosani, et elle obligea son fils Sigismond Auguste à faire à ses sœurs des dons importants.⁴¹

Dans ces conditions, il est tout à fait invraisemblable que Steven van Herwijck ait exécuté le portrait de Bona Sforza en Pologne, et il faut admettre qu'il l'a fait en Italie du vivant de Bona Sforza, c'est-à-dire entre 1556 et 1558. Or, comme en 1558 Steven van Herwijck a produit à Utrecht toute une suite de portraits, comme il s'est rendu ensuite à Anvers, c'est de 1556 ou plus probablement de 1557 que date la médaille de Bona Sforza. Avant de se faire recevoir franc maître de la Gilde Saint-Luc, à Anvers, Steven a fait un voyage en Italie pour se perfectionner dans son art et il y a en effet quelque influence italienne dans le revers de sa médaille de Georges d'Egmond, notamment dans le paysage. De plus, M. Hill a mis en lumière le caractère italien de la médaille de Jacob Bonaert.

C'est également au cours de ce voyage qu'il aura effigié le premier president du Sénat de Piémont, et probablement Jean Sigismond, le jeune roi de Hongrie. C'est à la suite de ce voyage que, à l'imitation des Italiens, il remplaça ses portraits de face par des portraits en profil.

Les grandes lignes de la biographie de Steven van Herwijck peuvent donc s'établir comme suit:

⁴¹ E. Zivier, Neuere Geschichte Polens, i, Gotha, 1915, p. 664.

- 1. Naissance à Utrecht. Date inconnue (vers 1530).
- 2. Voyage en Italie, 1557. Il exécute les portraits de Bona Sforza, Cassiano del Pozzo et de Jean Sigismond.
- 3. Arrivée à Anvers, 1558. Il est reçu franc maître de la Gilde Saint-Luc.
- 4. Séjour à Utrecht, 1558. Portraits de Georges d'Egmond, de Gautier van Bijler, Corneille van Mierop et Engelken Tols.
- 5. Retour à Anvers. Admission à la bourgeoisie, 1559, et séjour dans cette ville jusqu'en 1561. Portraits de Floris Allewijn, Cecilia Veeselaer, de Jacob Bonaert, Pierre Panhuis, Hans van den Broeck, Bernard Walter, Antoine van Blockland, Charles Cockiel et Thomas Therlaen.
- 6. Séjour en Pologne, 1561 et 1562. Portraits de Thomas de Montrichier, du roi Sigismond Auguste et de Catherine d'Autriche.
- 7. Séjour en Angleterre, 1562 et 1563. Portraits de Richard Martin, Dorcas Eglestone, Michel de Castelnau, Guillaume, marquis de Northampton, Élisabeth, marquise de Northampton, Guillaume, comte de Pembroke, Anna Poines, Edmond Withipoll, Thomas Stanley et Maria Newce.
- 8. Séjour à Utrecht, 1564. Portrait de Hillegoent van Alendorp.
 - 9. Retour à Anvers, 1564 ou 1565.
- 10. Départ d'Anvers pour l'Angleterre, 29 mars 1565. Il s'établit à Londres et y mourut avant Pâques 1567.

* *

Antérieurement à son voyage en Italie, Steven van Herwijck doit avoir été en apprentissage à Anvers. M. Hill a montré que son art procède de celui du médailleur anversois encore inconnu à qui l'on doit les portraits d'Antoine de Tour et Taxis, de Frans Floris, de Renier van Busdal et de Jean Lotin, artiste qui, à mon avis, pourrait bien être aussi l'auteur de la médaille d'Antonio Moro, et qui doit avoir été également le maître de Jongheling.

Je n'ai pas fait rentrer ce point dans la catégorie des faits acquis, parce que l'on peut se tromper aisément lorsqu'on n'a pour se guider que la manière d'un artiste. Nous verrons si les découvertes ultérieures confirmeront l'hypothèse.

* *

Il reste encore un détail à faire ressortir: les voyages de Steven van Herwijck ont été provoqués par la crise religieuse du xvıe siècle.

Quand nous apprenons à le connaître, c'est un catholique. Il fait les portraits de l'évêque d'Utrecht et de deux dignitaires catholiques utrechtois; il exécute une magnifique Sainte Face. Mais, pendant son séjour à Anvers, il portraiture toute une série de personnes suspectes ou convaincues de luthéranisme : Floris Allewijn, Cecilia Veeselaer, Pierre Panhuis, Hans van den Broeck, Charles Cockiel. Or, la répression de l'hérésie était énergique à Anvers en ce moment. On ne lit pas sans frémir les procès-verbaux des poursuites et les exécutions par le fer, le feu et l'eau qui menaçaient les protestants. Steven van Herwijck ne dut plus se sentir en sûreté, et c'est pourquoi il partit pour la Pologne, le seul pays qui à ce moment pratiquât la tolérance religieuse. Sans doute n'y réussit-il pas, car il passa ensuite en Angleterre où la reine Élisabeth favorisait la Réforme que Marie Tudor avait réprimée de manière si sanglante.

Il est probable qu'il forma le projet de se fixer dans ce dernier pays. Mais il devait avoir des intérêts à Anvers; il fallait les liquider; c'est ce qui explique son retour sur les bords de l'Escaut, puis son nouveau départ pour l'Angleterre, où il mourut peu de temps après son arrivée:

VICTOR TOURNEUR.

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF THE JEWISH SHEKELS.

The attribution of the "thick" shekels to the First Revolt against Rome, first proposed by M. Théodore Reinach, was retracted by him in the second and English edition of his admirable little book on Jewish coins. His reasons for recantation seemed to some of us inadequate: Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, in his article on "Money" in Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, and I myself in the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins of Palestine, have testified to our

faith in M. Reinach's first theory.

Since the publication of the last-named volume a fresh piece of evidence has appeared. Although it has been mentioned in print more than once, it continues to be ignored by the supporters of the Maccabaean date. It was first briefly indicated by R. P. Germer-Durand of the Augustinians of the Assumption, in the Revue Biblique for April, 1914 (pp. 234 ff.). The passage is quoted by Mr. Hunkin in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1916, p. 257. A shekel and a half-shekel were, it is there stated, found associated with Jewish coins, or Roman coins contemporary with the first Revolt, in excavations on the site known as the Grotto of the Tears of St. Peter.

Father Germer-Durand unfortunately died before he could give a detailed account of the find. Lieut.-Colonel Phythian-Adams, Assistant-Director of the British School at Jerusalem, has, however, very kindly made inquiries for me, with a view to ascertaining more exactly the character of the associated coins. To this end he consulted R. P. Vincent, and from the letter which he received

in reply I am able to quote the following:

"Ayant suivi très assidûment les fouilles du P. Germer-Durand à Saint-Pierre, il me reste un souvenir bien net que, dans le cas spécial des deux jolies pièces publiées comme

¹ e.g. by C. N. Mayer (Die Zuteilung der dicken silbernen Schekel, Frankfurt a. M., 1919), and by S. Raffaeli (Classification of Jewish Coins, in Journ. Pal. Or. Soc., 1921, pp. 202 ff.).

types pour sicle et ½ sicle, l'indice archéologique n'était pas sans quelque valeur. Ces monnaies étaient associées à un petit lot de bronzes hérodiens plus ou moins intacts, et de pièces des procurateurs avec les noms impériaux de César, Auguste et Tibère. Le dépôt se trouvait dans la ruine d'une maison dont le sol paraissait avoir été remblayé et le niveau du pavement élevé à la suite d'une catastrophe—sans doute le siège de 70—, car au-dessus du nouveau pavement apparaissaient les débris nettement romains de l'installation coloniale du 11° siècle.

"M. Hill voudra donc bien prendre garde que le sicle et le ½ sicle qui ont attiré son attention (RB., 1914, p. 234, fig. 14) ne faisaient nullement partie des groupes de poids, mesures, etc., publiés à la suite. Je ne crois, du reste, absolument pas au caractère officiel que le P. Germer-Durand a tenté d'attribuer à ces diverses séries, ni à l'ensemble des déterminations métrologiques, ni aux rapports proportionnels incidemment allégués avec le poids du sicle (trouvé sur un autre point)."

The preservation of the shekel and half-shekel, Father Vincent adds, is "almost as perfect as possible". It seems to me, therefore, that the evidence in favour of the attribution to the First Revolt is about as conclusive as any evidence of association in finds can be.

G. F. HILL.

FIND OF SILIQUAE AT DORCHESTER, DORSET.

The following coins were found in A.D. 1898 on the Somerleigh Court Estate, Dorchester, Dorset, together with two silver spoons (one inscribed with the words AVGVS-TINE VIVAS, one with a fish) and several fragments. There were fifty-four coins, all siliquae except one, and that one a small brass coin of Licinius I, struck at Cyzicus, circa A.D. 317, and apparently unconnected with the rest

¹ Roman tessellated pavements and a large number of Roman coins and other objects have been found on this site, which lies within the boundaries of the Roman Durnovaria.

² See The Antiquaries Journal, October 1921.

of the hoard. The siliquae run in a continuous series from Julian II to Honorius. The latest type of the hoard is found on five coins of Theodosius I, four of Treves, one of Milan; on nine of Arcadius, eight of Treves, one of Milan; on nine of Honorius, probably all of Milan; this certainly suggests that Honorius must for several years have held the chief position at the mint of Milan, i.e. that the hoard should be dated several years later than A. D. 395, the year of the death of Theodosius, i.e. circa A. D. 400, probably not later.

The siliquae are distributed under emperors thus:

Julian II	7	Magnus Maximus	1
Valentinian I	3	Arcadius	10
Valens	7	Honorius	9
Gratian	7		
Valentinian II	3	Total	53
Theodosius I	6		

and under mints thus:

Treves	29	(two not certain)
Lyons	3	
Milan	11	(three not certain)
Rome	4	
Constantinople	4	
Quite uncertain	2	
Total	53	

Julian II. A. D. 360-3.

 Obv.—FL CL IVLIANVS P F AVG Bust draped, diademed, r.

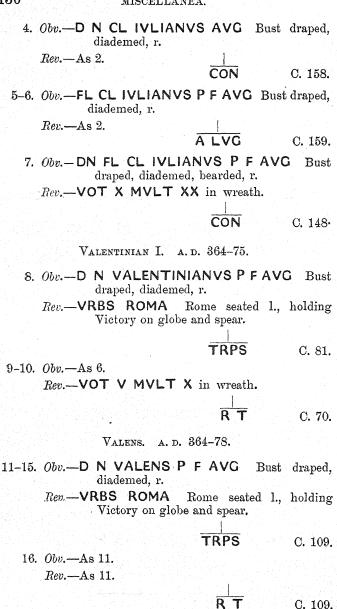
Rev.—VICTORIA DD NN AVG Victory standing l., holding wreath and palm.

LVG Cf. C. 58.

2-3. Obv.—D N IVLIANVS P F AVG Bust draped, diademed, r.

Rev.—VOTIS V MVLTIS X in wreath.

T CON C. 161.



17. Obv.—As 11.

Rev.—VOT V MVLT X in wreath.

R Q (?) C. 91.

GRATIAN. A. D. 367-83.

18. Obv.—DN GRATIANVS P F AVG Bust draped, diademed, r.

Rev. - VRBS ROMA Rome seated I., holding Victory on globe and spear.

TRPS C. 86.

19, 20 = 18. (But signatures in exergue obscure, perhaps

TRPS.

21-23. Obv.—As 18.

Rev.—VIRTVS ROMANORVM Rome seated, facing, head to l., holding globe and spear.

TRPS C 56.

24 = 21. (Obv. probably of Gratian, only partly legible.)

VALENTINIAN II. A. D. 375-92.

25. Obv.—D N VALENTINIANVS IVN P F AVG Bust draped, diademed r.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVGGG Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.

TRPS C. 40.

26. Obv.—D N VALENTINIANVS P F AVG Bust draped, diademed, r.

Rev.—VIRTVS ROMANORVM Rome seated facing, head turned l., holding globe and spear.

TRPS C. 60.

27. Obv.—D N VALENTINIANVS P F AVG Bust draped, diademed r.

Rev.—VIRTVS ROMANORVM Rome seated l., holding Victory on globe and spear.

TRPS

C. 61.

Theodosius I. A.D. 379-95.

28-31. Obv—D N THEODOSIVS P F AVG Bust draped, diademed, r.

Rev.—VIRTVS ROMANORVM Rome seated l., holding Victory on globe and spear.

TRPS

C. 57.

32 = 28. But MDPS

33. Obv.—As 28.

Rev.—VIRTVS ROMANORVM Rome seated facing, head to l., holding globe and spear.

TRPS(?)

C. 59.

Magnus Maximus. a.d. 383-8.

34. Obv.—D N MAG MAXIMVS P F AVG Bust draped, diademed, r.

Rev.—VIRTVS ROMANORVM Rome seated facing, head to l., holding globe and spear.

TRPS

C. 20.

ARCADIUS. A. D. 395-408.

35-40. Obv.—D N ARCADIVS P F AVG Bust draped, diademed, r.

Rev.—VIRTVS ROMANORVM Roma seated 1., holding Victory on globe and spear.

TRPS

Sabatier 27.

41 = 35. But MDPS

42, 43 = 35. (But exergue doubtful, perhaps TRPS)

44. Obv.—As 35.

Rev.—VOT V MVLT X in wreath. Exergue lost.

Not in Sabatier.

Honorius. A. D. 395-423.

45-50. Obv.-D N HONORIVS P F AVG

Rev.—VIRTVS ROMANORVM Rome seated I., holding Victory on globe and spear.

MDPS C. 59.

51-53 = 45. (But exergues not certain: probably all MDPS)

With the siliquae was one small brass coin of Licinius I:

Obv.—IMP C VAL LICIN LICIN[IVS P F AVG]
Head radiate, draped, r.

Rev.—IOVI CONSERVATORI Jupiter standing 1., holding Victory on globe and sceptre: at his feet, l. eagle, r. captive.

H. M.

BOY-BISHOP'S TOKENS.

Mr. H. B. Walters has kindly drawn my attention to the impressions that divide the words of the inscription on the third bell at Shelley Church, Suffolk. The bell is from the Bury St. Edmunds Foundry, and may be assigned, from the lettering of the inscription and the form of the initial cross, to the period of Roger Reve, who is known to have cast the "meane" bell at Debden in 1533 (see Deedes and Walters, Church Bells of Essex, pp. 52 ff.).

The inscription, small black letter, reads: sancta ana ora pro nobis; at the beginning is the cross fleury of plain form on a square tablet, and at the end three impressions of the

shield of the Bury foundry.

It is to the impressions between the words that I wish to draw attention. It is common to find in this position impressions of the reverse of a coin, usually a groat. But in this case, though the type is a cross and pellets with double inscription, the large size of the impressions and the slight traces that remain of the inscriptions prove that a groat was not here used.

The worn condition of the bell makes it impossible to decipher the inscriptions, though the four impressions are made from the same object, but I have little doubt that the object used was one of the leaden tokens that were described and illustrated by Haigh in Num. Chron., vi (1844), pp. 22 ff. (See also Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics—s. v. Token.) The obverse design is a mitred head with S N (Sanctus Nicholaus) and croziers beside, and the reverse the "groat" type; the obverse inscriptions are religious: Sante Nicholae ora pro nobis, &c., and the reverse phrases from an anthem used at the Feast of St. Edmund. A very large number of them were found, as Haigh informs us, at Bury St. Edmunds. He compares them with similar French pieces described by Rigollot, and attributes them, with good reason, to the boy-bishops as a token coinage in burlesque of the episcopal prerogative.

The interest of the impressions on the bell lies in the date that is assigned to the bell from other evidence. The tokens must have been available for use forty years after

the reverse type of the groat had been changed.

G. C. B.

CIVIL WAR COINS OF BRISTOL TYPES AFTER SEPTEMBER 1645.

I am tempted to send a short communication as to the silver coins of Charles I dated 1645 and marked with A, and others dated 1646 which are marked with A and B, and B only. (Cf. Murdoch Catalogue, 2nd part, 146-7, 235, and 258, and Hamilton Smith, 1913, lots 26-7 and 32.) These pieces, from their undoubted resemblance to Bristol issues, have been said to be Bushell's work at Lundy Island,

whither he went as royalist governor after the surrender of Bristol to the Parliamentary troops in September, 1645. If this be the true interpretation of the puzzle, we should expect to find L on coins struck there, or M for Marisco Castle, a mediaeval fortress reinstated by Bushell during his sojourn on the island, judging by analogous instances at other mint towns of the Civil War period. I assume it to be common ground among numismatists that the distinctive letters on provincial coins of that period are to be regarded as having a geographical and not a personal

meaning.

The attribution of the B and A coins to Lundy seems to be wanting in probability, because, in addition to the absence of L or M, Bushell says in a letter to the King on 14 May, 1646, that "the place in itself is useless except in some advantages it may yield to me". These words by no means suggest that there was or had been a mint under his control, indeed, I suspect that the writer of the letter was in fact a blockaded prisoner on the island which he governed, as the Bristol Channel was infested by the Parliament's ships and by pirates. We know, too, that after the Restoration no claim was made by Bushell for mint services at Lundy, although he does not omit to remind Charles II of his work for the late King at Bristol and Oxford in his triple capacity as mint-master, mining speculator, and army contractor. There was, moreover, one man who above all others could have given valuable evidence on the point, namely, Sir Wm. Parkhurst, head of the mint at Oxford and previously warden at the Tower. Now this expert writes a testimonial in November, 1661 (S. P. Dom passim) commending Bushell's help at Shrewsbury and Oxford, and saying that he had maintained at his own cost a garrison on Lundy, but the document is silent as to any provision of silver or other coinage operations while he guarded the island.

For these reasons I feel that the current attribution of the coins in question is not at all convincing or even credible. Therefore, I venture to propose for consideration an alternative theory as to the places which are denoted by the letters A and B respectively. At the outset I would recall the terms of the commission directed to Sir Richard Vyvyan on 3 January, 1643-4 (Num. Chron., Fourth Series, xiii, 370), whereby he was authorized to erect one or more mints in the county of Devon, and I would suggest that he or his deputy exercised this privilege in the towns

to be presently mentioned.

Near to the coast of North Devon and on the navigable river Taw lies Barnstaple, which was held for the king from September, 1644, to 12 April, 1646, when it surrendered to General Fairfax on the terms granted to the garrison of Exeter earlier in the same month (S. P. Dom. passim). At the mouth of the estuary of the rivers Taw and Torridge lies the small shipping-town of Appledore, then guarded by a fort armed with much ordnance which commanded the water-way to Barnstaple and Bideford. The fort and town were occupied by the king's forces in January, 1643-4, until the fall of Barnstaple in 1646.

I propose to attribute the B coins to Barnstaple and the A coins to Appledore, which suggestion, if acceptable, would find a parallel in the neighbouring mints of Weymouth and Sandsfoot Castle (Num. Chron., Fourth Series, xiii. 119). A brief reference may be made to some incidents of the war in the West country, as it is material, in the absence of direct evidence, to show that the towns or one of them were of such consequence as to render the establishment of a mint not improbable. Dealing first with Barnstaple. the more prominent town, there is abundant contemporary proof that it was an important military centre and that it was subjected to a definite siege by Parliamentary troops. In June, 1645, Charles, Prince of Wales, was in the town for a month, accompanied by the Secretary for War, the Chief Secretary of State, and at least two royalist generals. may almost be said that Barnstaple was at that date the seat of Royal government. When the end came in the black month of April, 1646, the generous articles of surrender accorded to Sir Allen Apsley, the commander, show the existence of a castle and a fort which were to be evacuated successively, with an interval of six days.

Turning now to Appledore, that town seems to have owed its military value to the harbour and to the fort controlling the estuary. I notice that in August 1644, when the fort was strictly besieged by Parliament, Sir John Berkley thought fit to send from Exeter 500 men to its relief (S. P. Dom. passim).

In 1649, when Sir Thomas Fairfax's men held the place, there is an order to protect the coast and "specially to take

care of Appledore".

My theory is that while Bushell was governing his lonely island some twenty miles distant, the mint apparatus and workmen were sent from Bristol to the towns now suggested, where the coins could be safely struck and used for the royalist garrison. As to the source whence the silver was

obtained, it cannot well have been Combe Martin; there is an extant letter from one of Fairfax's lieutenants in February, 1646-7, saying that Bushell intended to employ himself in "recovering the distressed works of Commartyn myne". It is highly probable that the mine then yielded only lead for bullets, there being neither time nor opportunity for extracting the silver from the ore.

The denominations of the "uncertain" coin which I have been discussing appear to be as follows:—

- Marked with A and dated 1645—Half-crown, shilling, and sixpence.
 - 2. Marked with B and dated 1646—Sixpence.
- 3. Marked with A on obv., B on rev., and dated 1646—Half-crown.

The last-named 1646 coin is a useful link between the two varieties and supports my belief in the proximity of the mints which successively issued them.

I have also noticed a half-crown, shilling, and groat, dated 1646, but without any distinctive letter, which are nearly identical in type with the specimens above mentioned, and

may well have been struck in the same district.

There remains for comment a half-crown of Declaration type, dated 1648, and bearing the letter A (cf. Hamilton Smith catalogue, lot 89). This coin must, by reason of its date, remain outside my suggested attribution, but is not, I think, at variance with it. The 1643 piece has a close affinity to Oxford issues, on which the reverse legend begins at the side of the coin, whereas on the Bristol coins and those marked A and B of 1645-6 the legend begins on the top. The letter A, too, differs slightly from that on the Barnstaple-Appledore coins, if I may so describe them. Mr. G. C. Brooke tells me that the National Collection contains an Oxford half-crown which is almost certainly from the same die, before the A was punched in underneath the horse. The place of origin of this Oxford-type A coin has yet to be sought and found.

I make my acknowledgements to the Rev. Prebendary Chanter, F.S.A., whose writings on local history have

smoothed my path considerably.

BRIDPORT AS AN ANGLO-SAXON MINT.

Ox page 92 of the Numismatic Chronicle, Fifth Series, Vol. i (1921), Mr. L. Woosnam contributes "Notes on two placenames on the Anglo-Saxon coins", in which he discusses the attribution of certain coins assigned by Hildebrand (1881) to Bridgnorth and Harwich respectively. It is in regard to the former group of coins, namely those with the mint-name

BRYD, that I offer a few comments.

Mr. Woosnam having indicated the philological and other difficulties which, in his opinion, forbid the identification of this mint-name with Bridgnorth, I venture to support his case in favour of a transfer to a Dorset mint. If Hildebrand's attribution can no longer be upheld, I think that these coins should be assigned to Bridport and not to Bredy. The military system of defence in Wessex, known as the Burghal Hidage, was instituted, as Sir Charles Oman says,2 in the later years of Alfred or, according to other authorities, in the reign of his son Edward. The identification by Professor Maitland³ of the Brydian of the Hidage with Long Bredy, on the ground that the district "seems to contain a Kingston" (King's tun), is open to question. Two places of this name occur in the Domesday Survey of Dorset as Chintone and Chingestone. but neither of them is in the valley of the Bredy river; the existing hamlet of Kingston Russell in Long Bredy is possibly of later date. Be that as it may, there is apparently no historical proof that a Saxon burh was established in or near Bredy. On the other hand, Bridport was undoubtedly a pre-Conquest burh, placed at the head of a creek formed by a tidal river, and therefore a strategical point in the system of defence against Danish or other invaders. Its position on the coast is not unlike that of Wareham, another of the fortified burhs in the Burghal Hidage scheme. Hitherto no Anglo-Saxon coins have been attributed to Bridport, notwithstanding the evidence in Domesday that the town possessed the privilege of one resident moneyer under the Confessor.

I will now turn for a moment to consider the coins

² England before the Norman Conquest, pp. 468-9.

3 Domesday Book and Beyond, p. 503.

¹ The same doubt as to Bridgnorth, and the same alternative attribution to Bridgort, appear to have presented themselves to Mr. H. A. Parsons when compiling a table of the mints of Aethelred II in *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, x, pp. 274 and 276.

themselves. One of the moneyers on the coins of Canute assigned to Bridgnorth is WATAMAN (Hildebrand, type I). In the same reign there is a penny of the same type struck at Dorchester, fifteen miles from Bridgort, by HWATEMAN (op. cit.), which is, I conceive, merely a variant of the first-mentioned moneyer's name. Under Harthacnut we have a coin reading HWATEMAN ON BR, which is allocated by Hildebrand to Bristol, somewhat inconsistently. It is unfortunate that the place of mintage is here so much shortened, owing to the length of the moneyer's designation.

Again, in the Confessor's reign this moneyer occurs on a coin of Dorchester (*Brit. Mus. Cat. A.-S. Coins*, vol. ii), and on a penny with the place-name reading BR, which is given

to Bristol (op. cit.).

When we reach the Conqueror's period, I notice that Mr. G. C. Brooke, in the Brit. Mus. Cat. of the Coins of the Norman Kings, does not assign any coins of that dynasty to a mint at Bridgnorth, but he does give to Bristol a penny of the moneyer previously cited, reading HWATEMAN ON BRI (William I, type V, no. 298).

One other point should be noticed. Among the Dorset landholders mentioned in the Exchequer Domesday Book

the name Wateman can be found.

What inference can be drawn from these facts? We have, as I have shown, a moneyer named Wataman working for about thirty years at Dorchester (admittedly a long period), and at a borough which is denoted by the abbreviations BR, BRI, and BRYD, as far as is known at present. Whether he journeyed from one town to the other, or whether there were two craftsmen bearing an identical but uncommon name, is very difficult to say.

The foregoing additional considerations may perhaps be regarded as supporting Mr. Woosnam's interpretation of the place-name on the coins under discussion. I would go one step further, and suggest that if the Bridgnorth coins are to be transferred to Bridgort they should be accompanied by those Anglo-Saxon and Norman pieces bearing the name of the Dorset moneyer which are now assigned to Bristol.

It will be remembered that as long ago as 1834, when the Beaworth hoard was classified and described (*Archaeologia*, vol. xxvi), a few of the Conqueror's coins of the Paxs type, but struck by other moneyers, were ascribed to Bridport; this attribution was adopted by Mr. Brooke in the British Museum Catalogue of 1916.

REVIEWS.

The Copper Coins of India. Part 2 The Panjab and Contiguous Native States. By W. H. Valentine. Spink and Son, Ltd. £1 1s.

In the Introduction to the first Part of The Copper Coins of India the author, Mr.W. H. Valentine, announced his intention of producing it in parts corresponding with the modern political divisions. The title of the work is comprehensive, but pre-Muhammadan coins are excluded. The first Part dealt with the coins of Bengal and the United Provinces, and appeared in the year 1914. The second Part has just been published, and describes the copper coins of the Panjab and six contiguous Native States, of which the most

important, numismatically speaking, is Kashmir.

Mr. Valentine has supplied a simple and lucid guide. The entire work is a process-reproduction of the author's own handwriting and drawings; none but an enthusiast could have undertaken and successfully completed a task involving so much minute and painstaking labour. As an illustrator Mr. Valentine is clearly inspired by the late Mr. C. J. Rodgers. Each double page of the volume now under review is complete in itself, description and illustration being side by side. The catalogue of the coins of each region is prefaced by a brief history of the tract concerned, though this amounts to little more than the recital of a few salient facts. Mr. Valentine does not reproduce the somewhat more detailed political history set forth in his first Part, but he ought to have repeated the list of abbreviations, most of which are unintelligible without a key. The coins are described by mints, which are in the alphabetical order of their English transliterations. The author has ventured to tackle the vast series of the mintless money of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, including the Suri Sultans; and for convenience has included these mintless pieces with those struck at the capital. In logical sequence come those copper pieces of Akbar, such as the half bit, the eighth, the damra, the damri, which bear a denominational epithet but not Many notable coins are brought to the notice of the reader. The large copper pieces of the Sikhs are striking and extremely rare. The Panjab bazaars are still

full of coins, such as those illustrated on page 135, but during fifteen years' active collecting in that Province I never saw a piece of the size and weight of Nos. 9, 10, or 12. It is quite time that the coins of the Sikhs in all metals were brought together in an up-to-date and complete

monograph.

Turning to the Delhi Sultans, No. 286 is a very unusual piece. No. 349 appears to be new to numismatists. No. 355 is a piece, not of Sikandar, but of Muhammad bin Farid. Coins Nos. 408 to 412 are pieces of the self-styled but mysterious king of Hind, who was a contemporary of the Emperors Babur and Humayun. No. 511 a is of Alwar mint. No. 697 may well be (as suggested by Mr. Longworth Dames) of mint Banian, an old form of the present-day

Bannu, instead of Multan.

The present work is valuable as being the first to give Durrani copper coins adequate treatment and illustration; there is a full series for each of the Durrani mints described. The treatment of Kashmir mint is deserving of special Mr. Valentine has had the advantage of access to the cabinet of Mr. R. Sutcliffe, of Burnley, which includes the collection of the Rev. Mr. Doxey, at one time a missionary in Kashmir. It would be unreasonable to expect absolutely exhaustive lists, especially of series so intricate and so fertile in new discoveries as the copper coins of India. On the other hand, the treatment is adequate, and the author's industry worthy of admiration. We look forward to the appearance of the third Part, which will deal with the coins of Bombay, Rajputana, and Central India. R. B. W.

Sassanian Coins. By William H. Valentine. Spink and Son, Ltd., London, 1921. Pp. 118, illustrations in text. 16s.

In this book Mr. Valentine gives us the first English contribution to the study of Sassanian coins since the days of Edward Thomas. Like his books on Muhammadan coins it is lithographed from manuscript. It differs from these in one respect which seems to us rather unfortunate in the case of Sassanian coins. Instead of the hundreds of illustrations grouped in plates which we have been led to expect from Mr. Valentine, we have only one or two coins of each ruler shown in drawings scattered through the text. This makes the identification of coins much more difficult. Sassanian rulers are readily distinguishable by their head-

dresses, and a series of typical coins grouped on one or two plates would enable any one to identify the issuer of a coin in a moment. In the text Mr. Valentine does not claim any great originality, and one would readily sacrifice much of it for more illustrations. The great value of the book is that it reproduces much that is only accessible in scattered articles in English and foreign periodicals. Mr. Valentine's drawings of inscriptions in his text are well done, but those in the drawings of the coins leave a good deal to be desired. The system of transliteration might have been more uniform. M. Drouin's article in the Revue Archéol. 1898, does not seem to have been consulted. English readers will be glad to have the various tables of mints &c. from the works of Mordtmann and de Morgan, although the reissue of the former's work in 1918 has made it much more accessible than it was. In the latter part of his book Mr. Valentine deals with the later coins of Sassanian fabric. those of the Arab governors of Persia, and the issues of Tabaristan under the Ispehbeds and Arabs. Taken as a whole, Mr. Valentine's book is a useful one, but while it is a wonderful testimony to his industry, it is not quite up to the standard of his books on Arab coins.

J. A.

The Coins of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. By J. R. Henderson. C.I.E. Pp. 123, nine Plates. Madras, 1921.

This, the latest of a not inconsiderable series of books on the coinage of Mysore, is quite the best, and like the most useful of its predecessors—Thurston's—is based on the Madras collection. Dr. Henderson has taken the opportunity to make his book a corpus, and to adopt a systematic arrangement under mints. In addition to historical outlines, his introductions deal fully with Tipu's experiments in chronology, metrology, and coin-nomenclature. The historical sketches of each mint form a valuable feature of the book, and Dr. Henderson has made good use of his experience in examining treasure trove. The nine plates have been admirably executed by the Clarendon Press, but the printing of the text does not reach that standard which the author's work merits.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1921.

[SEE PLATES VI, VII.]

THE following report is on the usual lines, omitting the acquisitions about to be published in Catalogues which are in preparation. One of the most remarkable of the other acquisitions, the Alexandrine tetradrachm of Aspeisas, has already been described by Mr. Robinson. 1

The Taranto hoard.

The greater part of the silver bullion from the Taranto hoard, described by Babelon in Rev. Num., 1912, pp. 1-40, has now passed into the possession of the Museum. The acquisition does not, unfortunately, include the piece illustrated by Babelon on p. 32, with the impression of a reverse die of Selinus (?); but it does include the remains of three ornaments, probably all fibulae; a flat blank prepared for striking an Italic half-stater; ² and a number of incuse coins of the local mints, some of which, apart from their being broken, are in very fine condition.

¹ Num. Chron., 1921, p. 37. Numism. chron., vol. II, series v.

² See above, p. 7. Pl. I. 3.

Thurium.

- Obv.—Head of Athena l. in crested Athenian helmet adorned with figure of Skylla ἀποσκοπεύουσα.
 - Rev.—OOYPION Bull charging r., head turned slightly to front. In exergue, fish r.

R didrachm. $\leftarrow 22.5$ mm. Wt. 7.45 g. Presented by Mr. Henry Van den Bergh. Pl. VI. 1.

Thurian didrachms with the head of Athena to left are very scarce. She faces to the left on a small group of tetradrachms,3 with which this didrachm must be associated. Possibly they are all the work of one engraver, who was left-handed. For it is natural to most draughtsmen, when drawing a profile, to make it look to the left, and a die thus designed would produce a coin with the head to right. There are of course at other mints innumerable coins of the period with the head to left; but since at Thurium there seems to have been some kind of rule, we may assume that a departure from it was due to the idiosyncrasy of the engraver.

Terina.

- 2. Obv.—TEPINAION on l. Head of nymph Terina r., with small sphendone. Faint linear circle.
 - Rev.—Winged Nike seated l. on square base; in her r. a wreath supported on her r. knee, her l. resting on the seat. Traces of circular incuse.

A didrachm. † 23 mm. Wt. 7.67 g. Presented by Mr. Henry Van den Bergh. Pl. VI. 2. The obverse is from Regling's die FF, the reverse from a die not illustrated by him.

³ B.M.C., Nos. 30-2. Other specimens: Egger, 26 Jan. 1909, No. 58; Hirsch, xxvi, Nos. 31 and 283; xxxiii, No. 205.

Segesta.

- Obv.—The hound Krimisos standing 1., head lowered. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—Head of nymph Segesta r., her hair taken up and the head bound with a double band, broad at the back. Necklace. Linear circle in concave field.

R didrachm. \downarrow 21 mm. Wt. 8.29 g. Presented by Mr. Henry Van den Bergh. Pl. VI. 3.

The head is from the same die as No. 155, Pl. III, in Feuardent's Sale, Paris, 9 May, 1910, on the obverse of which the hound stands with head erect. The new coin also combines the obv. die of B.M.C. 19 with the rev. of 20.

Syracuse.

4. Obv.—Head of Athena or Aphrodite r., in crested Corinthian helmet; wears necklace; behind, head of trident upwards.

Rev.—Pegasus flying 1.

 $\mathcal{R} \rightarrow 20$ mm. Wt. 6.77 g. Presented by Mr. Henry Van den Bergh. Pl. VI. 4.

One of the reduced eight-litrae pieces of Agathocles, similar to Head, *Syracuse*, Pl. IX. 12, but with the symbol transferred from rev. to obv. A specimen of the same issue, but from different dies, was in the Stiavelli Sale (No. 214).

Chersonesus Taurica.

- 5. Obv.—Head of Artemis 1., hair rolled over forehead and confined with flat band; many loose strands, and locks on back of neck.
 - Rev.—XEP above; **ΙΩΓΥΡΟ** in ex. Bull butting r., standing on club. Deep incuse circle.

 $R \leftarrow 24$ mm. Wt. 9.91 g. Pl. VI. 5. From the collection of the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch.

For the types, compare A. L. Bertier-de-la-Garde, "Some new or little-known coins of Chersonesus" (Trans. Imp. Odessa Hist. and Arch. Soc., xxvi, 1906, Pl. I, No. 4, and pp. 8, 10 of separate impression). The coin dates, according to him, from the last third of the fourth century (the earlier type, with the facing head, and without magistrate's names, he gives to 350-330 B.C.). The average weight he gives (p. 19) as 9.85 g. Zopyros appears to be a new magistrate for this mint.

Panticapaeum.

- 6. Obv.—Head of Satyr 1., bearded, with pointed ear, wearing ivy-wreath.
 - Rev.—Winged and horned gryphon I., head to front, holding spear in his beak, standing on ear of barley; in field on I., above and r., Γ A N. Concave field.
- $X \uparrow 22.5$ mm. Wt. 8.54 g. Pl. VI. 6. From the collection of the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch.

This coin, and another formerly in the same collection, belong to a small group of Panticapaean gold issues of Attic weight.⁴ It is usually supposed (as by Head, Hist. Num.², p. 281) that the normally high weight of the Panticapaean staters (about 9 g.) was due to local plenty of gold. But, as Minns remarks (Scythians and Greeks, pp. 440 f., 631), Scythia was not naturally auriferous, and all the gold was imported from oversea to pay for exports. Bertier-de-la-Garde's speculations on the reason for the high weight may be read in Minns, p. 631.

⁴ Cf. Montagu i, 290 = Late Collector 243 (132³/₄ grains); Hirsch xxxii, 407 = Sandeman 155 (8-48 grammes); O'Hagan 367 (128-5 grains).

Charaspes of Scythia.

- 7. Obc. —Heads of the Dioscuri jugate r., wearing wreathed pilei; border of dots.
 - Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ] on r. downwards, ΧΑΡΑΣΠΟΥ on l. downwards. Eagle standing r. on thunderbolt. Below, ME in monogram.
 - .E ↑ 24 mm. Wt. 11·18 g. Pl. VI. 7.

The correct reading of this coin was first made out by Regling (Corolla Numismatica, pp. 259 ff.). The present specimen, which was acquired with many other coins of the Danubian district, seems to be from the same obverse die as his fig. 2 (the Sofia specimen).

Callatis.

- 8. Obv.—Head of Athena r. in crested helmet.
 - Rev.—Club l.; above, $\mathbb{Z}Y\Phi PO$; below, $KA\Lambda\Lambda$; below that, ear of barley l.
 - Æ ↑ 14.5 mm. Wt. 2.52 g. Cp. Berlin Corpus, No. 243.
- The Φ , if such it is, has a lozenge-shaped body; the other three letters are all clear; the initial letter was E, and traces of the lower two horizontal strokes seem to be discernible. This is confirmed by Ruzicka (Z. f. N, xxx, p. 299), but he reads the middle sign as a monogram of Δ &c., and the last letter as H, "nicht völlig deutlich". On our specimen the O is certain.
 - Obv.—Head of bearded Herakles r., laureate. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—KAA AATIA above. Two ears of barley between club downwards on r. and bow-case on l. Border of dots.
 - \pm 19 mm. Wt. 3.85 g. Cp. Corpus, No. 277, and N. Z., N. F., x, p. 90, No. 277 a, b, c, all with three ears, and without the bow-case.

The Weber specimen of Corpus, No. 277 is now in the British Museum.

- 10. Obv.—AVTΚΛCΕΠ CEVHPOCΠΕ Bust of Severus r., laureate, undraped. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—KAAA A TIAN Ω N Athena, helmeted, standing r., r. extended resting on spear, l. holding owl. In field r., mark of value Δ . Border of dots.

 \cancel{E} \$\psi\$ 24 mm. Wt. 9.65 g. Cp. Corpus, No. 309.

Dionysopolis.

Ruzicka publishes in N. Z., N. F., x, p. 100, No. 369 a, an autonomous coin with the magistrate's name [Δ]HMO... (cp. Tacchella, Rev. Num., 1903, p. 208, No. 20). The full reading, as shown by a specimen now in the British Museum, with the same countermark, is ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ.

Æ ↑ 23 mm. Wt. 6.21 g.

- 12. Obv.—. . . KTCET FETAC Bust of Geta r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—ΔΙΟΝΥCΟΠ Ο ΛΕΙΤΩΝ and in field l. mark of value Γ. Demeter, veiled, standing l., l. resting on sceptre, two ears of barley in lowered r. Border of dots.

 \not 22 mm. Wt. 5·13 g. Cp. Tacchella, Rev. Num., 1903, p. 209, No. 28.

The only other piece of 3 units of which the weight is recorded (Corpus, No. 374, of Commodus) weighs 7.70 g. Contemporary pieces of 2 units of Domna weigh from 3.52 g. to 4.70 g., and pieces of 5 units of Severus weigh from 9.80 g. to 10.48 g. The weight of the unit at this period was thus between 1.71 g. and 2.35 g.

Marcianopolis.

- 13. Obv.—IOVAIA AOMNAC Bust of Domna r. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—MAPKIAN O ΠΟΛΙΤΩ Artemis huntress advancing r., holding bow (backwards!) in 1., drawing arrow from quiver at her shoulder with r. Border of dots.

 $\times 23$ mm. Wt. 7.45 g.

14. Caracalla and Domna. Similar to Corpus, No. 688 (Temple of Sarapis), but € within the temple, no mark in pediment, and inser. divided thus: VΠΚΥΝΤΙΛΙΑ NOVMAPKIANOΠΟΛΙ ΤΩΝ

Æ ↑ 27 mm. Wt. 12·38 g.

 $\cancel{E} \downarrow 25$ mm. Wt. 8.55 g.

16. Severus Alexander. Similar to Corpus, No. 988 (Hermes), but on obv. CEVH instead of CEV; on rev. VΠΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΓΕΤ[Ο] κ.τ.λ., showing that the restoration of the gentile name in full, rejected by Pick for lack of precedent, is correct. From the Sir H. Weber Collection.

Æ ↑ 26 mm. Wt. 11.20 g.

16 a. Alexander and Maesa. Similar to Corpus, No. 1053 (Apollo); the detail of the three arrows in the quiver is clear.

Æ ↓ 26 mm. Wt. 10·19 g.

- Gordian and Tranquillina. As Corpus, No. 1181.
 £ ↑ 27.5 mm. Wt. 11.79 g.
- Philip and Otacilia. As Corpus, No. 1202—perhaps the same coin. From the Sir H. Weber Collection (purchased by him in 1903).

Æ 1 28 mm. Wt. 12.43 g. Pl. VI. 8.

Nicopolis ad Istrum.

- Obc.—AV - ΚΟΜΟΔΟC Bust of Commodus r., bearded, laureate, undraped. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—NIKOTOA ITPOCICT Athena, helmeted, standing to front, head l., l. resting on shield, r. emptying phiale over altar. Border of dots.
 - Æ ↑ 16 mm. Wt. 2.96 g.
- Obv.—AVTK···ANTΩNINO L Bust of Caracalla r., beardless, laureate, unclothed. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΤΩ ΝΠΡΟCICTPON Concordia standing l., wearing kalathos, holding phiale in r., cornucopiae in l.
 - .E \uparrow 17 mm. Wt. 31·2 g. Compare the larger denomination, Corpus, No. 1587.
- 21. Obv.—AVĶMA ANTΩNIŅ Bust of Caracalla r., beardless, laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass? Border off the flan.
 - Rev.—NIKOTIOAITTPOCICTP Circular cippus or altar, on top of which is coiled a serpent, head 1. Border of dots.
 - Æ ↑ 16. Wt. 3.03 g.

The object on which the serpent is coiled is neither a cista mystica, nor the omphalos. Cp. for these Corpus, Nos. 1504 f.

- 22. Obv.—AVTKMAVP AN - Bust of Elagabalus r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—NIKOΠΟΛΙΤΩ[NΠΡΟΟΙ] and in ex. CTPON. Lion walking l.
 - Æ ↓ 17 mm. Wt. 2.02 g. Cp. Corpus, Nos. 1599 and 2029.

Tomis.

- 23. Obv.—M·AVPH·ANTΩ NINOCA - Bust of Elagabalus r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—Within a wreath, MHTP ONNO NTOVT OME Ω Δ Border of dots.
 - \pm \$\psi\$ 27 mm. Wt. 12.52 g. Cp. Corpus, No. 3109.

Anchialus.

- 24. Obv.—ПСЕПТ ГЕТАС Bust of young Geta r., bareheaded, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.
 - Rev.—[AΓ]XIA ΛΕΩΝ Eros, nude, with crossed legs, standing, resting with l. elbow on torch inverted on a basis. Border of dots.
 - .± ↑ 19 mm. Wt. 3·62 g. Pl. VI. 9.

An example of the Roman type of the tired Eros, on which see Furtwängler in Roscher, i. 1369, and Riggauer in Z. f. N., viii, 1881, p. 96. The type was popular in Thrace, but has not hitherto been noted on coins of Anchialus.

- 25. Obv.—TCETT FETACK Bust of young Geta r., bareheaded, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—AΓXIA ΛΕΩΝ Eagle, wings spread, head l., standing to front on garlanded circular basis. Border of dots.
 - .E ↑ 18 mm. Wt. 3·19 g.
- 26. Geta. On a specimen of Corpus, No. 561 (not from the same reverse die as the specimen illustrated in Pl. VII. 16) Mr. Robinson has deciphered, immediately underneath the ship, the letters CEBACTO. The surface of the coin is very bad, but there seems to be no doubt that his reading is correct, and that the letters are not merely waves.

Æ ↑ 28 mm. Wt. 12.83 g.

- 27. Obv.—AVTMAXIMI NOCEVEEBHA Bust of Maximinus r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—ΟΥΛΠΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΓΧΙΑΛΕΩ N Hades, wearing kalathos, enthroned three-quarters 1., 1. resting on sceptre, r. extended over Kerberos at his feet. Border of dots.

Æ / 27 mm. Wt. 10.05 g.

Apollonia Pontica.

- 28. Obv.—Bust of Apollo r., laureate, draped; in front, small branch of laurel. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—ΑΠΟΛΛ Ω NIHTEΩN Tyche standing I., wearing kalathos, rudder in r., cornucopiae in I. Border of dots.

Æ ↑ 18 mm. Wt. 3.33 g.

The obverse is, I think, from the same die as another coin, which is similar to that published by Dieudonné in *Rev. Num.*, 1908, p. 238, with the lyre as reverse type.

- 29. Obv.—AY - - ANTONINOC Head of Pius r., laureate. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—ΑΠ - HTEΩN and in ex. ENΠΟΝΤΩ. Temple with four columns (wide central intercolumniation); uncertain object in pediment. Border of dots.

Æ ↑ 22 mm. Wt. 6.47 g.

- 30. Obv.—AYKAIMAYPH ANTΩNEINOC Bust of M. Aurelius r., bareheaded, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—ΑΠΟΛ ΛΩ NI HTEΩ and in ex. ENΠΟΝΤΩ
 Temple with four columns; in pediment, shield
 with central boss. Border off the flan.

Æ / 22.5 mm. Wt. 5.94 g.

Augusta Traiana.

- 31. Obv.—AVTMAPHAI ANTΩNEINOC Bust of Caracalla r., beardless, laureate, undraped. Border of dots. [Same die as B.M.C., Thrace, p. 178, 12.]
 - Rev.—AVFOV CTHC and in ex. TPAIANHC
 Temple of four columns; within, Hades, wearing
 kalathos, enthroned three-quarters l., l. resting
 on sceptre, r. extended over Kerberos at his
 feet. Border of dots.
 - Æ / 28.5 mm. Wt. 13.87 g.
- 32. Obv.—AVTKMAVPCEVH ANTΩNEINOC Bust of Caracalla r., bearded, laureate, undraped. Border of dots. [Same die as B. M. C., Thrace, p. 179. 14.]
 - Rev.—AVFOVCTHC TPAIANHC Hera standing to front, head l., resting l. on sceptre, holding phiale in r. Border of dots.
 - Æ ↑ 29.5 mm. Wt. 17.44 g.

Deultum.

- 33. Obv.—IMPGORDIAN VSPIVSFELA/G Bust of Gordian III r., laureate, draped. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—COLFLPACDEVL and in ex. T River-god reclining l., holding cornucopiae in r., l. resting on urn from which water flows. Border of dots.
 - $E \downarrow 23.5$ mm. Wt. 6.25 g.
- 34. Obv.—MIVLPHILIPPVSCAESAR Bust of Philip Junior r., laureate, undraped. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—P B Egg-shaped baetyl, with knob at top, placed on a stand. Border of dots.
 - E ↓ 18 mm. Wt. 3.64 g. Pl. VI. 10. Cf. Mushmov, Ancient Coins of the Balkan Peninsula (Sophia, 1912), Pl. xxii. 14, for the reverse.

- 35. Obv.—Same die as preceding.
 - Rev.—C F D Asklepios standing to front, head l., r. resting on serpent-staff, l. wrapped in himation. Border of dots.
 - $E \downarrow 16.5$ mm. Wt. 3.21 g. Pl. VI. 11. From the Yorke Moore (Sotheby's 1889, No. 171) and Sir H. Weber Collections.

Hadrianopolis.

- 36. Obv.—•AVCTEINA CEBACTH Bust of Faustina Junior r., draped. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟ ΠΟΛ ΕΙΤΩΝ Winged Nemesis standing l., plucking with r. at her chiton; in l., cubit-rule; at her feet, gryphon seated l. Border of dots.
 - \pounds \downarrow 22 mm. Wt. 5.40 g. From the Bunbury and Sir H. Weber Collections.
- Obv.—ΛC€Π- ΓΕΤΑÇΚ Bust of Geta r., bareheaded, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—AΔPIAN O ΠΟΛΕΙΤ and in ex. ΩN Sarapis, wearing kalathos, seated l., l. resting on sceptre, in extended r. phiale. Border of dots.
 - .E \downarrow 18 mm. Wt. 3-44 g. Pl. VI. 12. Cp. Mushmov, No. 2665 ("Zeus").
- 38. Obv.—[AVTKM]ANTΓΟ PΔIANOCAV Bust of Gordian III r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots. [Same die as B.M.C., Thrace, p. 120, No. 27.]
 - Rev.—A ΔP IANO [ΠΟ] and in ex. ΛΕΙΤΩ[N]
 The Nymphaeum of Hadrianopolis. Border of dots.
 - \pm \$\delta\$ 25 mm. Wt. 8-99 g. Pl. VI. 13. From the Yorke Moore (Lot 171) and Sir H. Weber Collections.

The representation of the building is rather different from what appears on the coin of Septimius Severus at Paris.5 The general elevation of the structure in three storeys, with an apsidal recess in the middle. is the same. But on the new coin the two wings project to left and right, instead of being partly in front of the main building. Probably they stood out at right angles to the front, and flanked the basin which held the water. They were surmounted by chariot-groups (bigae, or possibly quadrigae); in any case Donaldson's interpretation of this detail seems wrong. The Paris coin shows six figures in niches in the top storey, three in the middle, and three in the bottom, the river-god in the centre of the last taking a much greater space than the others. This arrangement necessitates a pilaster in the middle of the top storey, with nothing below it; this seems odd, but let the architects decide. On our coin there are three niches in each storey, and all of equal size. Possibly the Paris coin is more accurate; the simpler arrangement is more likely than the more elaborate to be due to the coin-engraver. Both coins show the row of holes in the base from which the water flowed out. The river-god can be made out on ours with the help of the Paris coin; and the other figures in first and middle storeys seem to correspond; not so those in the top storey. Is it possible that the building was modified in the interval between the reigns of Severus and Gordian?

Mesembria on the Aegean.

39. Obv.—Head of Maenad r., wreathed with ivy; behind, head of thyrsos.

⁵ Mionnet, Supp. II, p. 314, No. 680; Donaldson, Arch. Num., No. 77; Donaldson's enlargement is reproduced by Sieveking in Roem. Mitt., 1906, p. 93.

Rev.—MEXAM r. downwards, BPIAN Ω N l. downwards. Bunch of grapes, with vine-leaf below; above, on either side of the stalk, Δ Ω .

Æ ↑ 22 mm. Wt. 7·43 g. Pl. VI. 14.

39 bis.—Another, countermarked on the obv. with a female head r., veiled (and wearing wreath of corn?); on rev. uncertain letters (? M and another) on either side of stalk; traces on the reverse of an older over-struck type.

Æ ↑ 23 mm. Wt. 6.95 g. Pl. VI. 15.

These two coins are of the type attributed by Tacchella (*Rev. Num.*, 1900, p. 258) to the obscure city of Mesembria on the southern coast of Thrace. The same countermark occurs on another specimen (Egger Sale, xlv, No. 254), on which the letters above the grapes seem to be M A. Another specimen (Egger, 7 Jan., 1908, No. 336) has no letters in that place.

Odessus.

- 40. Obv.—AVTONEPOYA.TPAIANΩ.KAI.CEΓΕΡΔA
 Bust of Trajan r., laureate, undraped. Border
 off the flan.
 - Rev.—OΔHC on l. downwards, C∈ITΩN on r. upwards. The Great God, in long dress, wearing small kalathos (?), standing l., in r. phiale, in l. cornucopiae. Border of dots.

Æ ↓ 30 mm. Wt. 20.90 g. Cp. Corpus, No. 2227.

- 41. Obv.—AVKMAPAYPHAIOC ANTΩNEINOC
 Bust of Marcus Aurelius r., with short beard,
 laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.
 Border of dots.
 - Rev.—OAHC in ex., CEI on r. upwards, inser. on l. off the flan. Demeter and Kore standing confronted; on l. Kore, r. resting on torch, ears of corn and poppy-head (?) in raised l.; on r. Demeter, l., veiled, resting on torch, in lowered r. ears of corn and poppy-head (?). Border of dots.

E ↓ 28 mm. Wt. 14.89 g.

On the coin of Aquilia Severa (Corpus, No. 2303), Demeter is on the l., and Kore on the r. On this coin, however, I think it is the goddess on the r. who is veiled; but I cannot be sure.

- 42. Obv.—AVTKMAVPANTKOMOΔOC Bust of Commodus r., laureate, undraped. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—[O]Δ HCCEIT Ω N The Emperor riding r. on horseback, spear in r., l. holding reins. Border of dots.
 - .E \downarrow 17 mm. Wt. 2.63 g. Pl. VI. 17. Cp. Corpus, No. 2258. Unusually neat in style.

Philippopolis.

- 43. Obv.—--- ANTΩNEINOC CEBEVCEVΠΑΔ Bust of Pius r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—HFEMMTONTCABEINOVΦIΛΙΠΠΟΠ The Emperor on horseback charging r., thrusting downwards with spear. Border of dots.

.E ↓ 31 mm. Wt. 18·18 g.

The fourth consulship of Pius dated from A.D. 145. The mention of a consulship on coins of Philippopolis is exceptional.

Thasos.

- 44. Obv.—Head of Dionysos l., bearded, wreathed with ivy.
 - Rev.—OA[≤1] on l. upwards, ON on r. downwards. Herakles, bearded, lion-skin over head and falling down behind him, kneeling r. on r. knee, shooting with bow; in field r., ivy-leaf(?); linear square in incuse square.
 - $X \uparrow 11.5$ mm. Wt. 3.93 g. Pl. VI. 16. From the Sir Hermann Weber Collection.

The gold half-stater of Thasos acquired by the Museum in 1894 has the inscription complete on the left side of the square—the usual arrangement on Thasian coins of this period (411-400 B.C.). The arrangement as on the new specimen is also found on some of the silver tetradrachms and drachms. The coin is unfortunately slightly double-struck on the reverse, and somewhat battered, so that the symbol cannot be clearly made out. It may possibly be a bunch of grapes on a vine leaf.

Mende.

45. Obv.—Ass, ithyphallic, standing r.; above, scroll. Border of dots.

Rev.—Deep incuse square, divided diagonally.

Æ 11.5 mm. Wt. 2.41 g. Pl. VII. 1. Thick fabric. From the Sir Hermann Weber Collection. *Num. Chron.*, 1898, p. 252, No. 7, Pl. xvi, No. 7. Babelon, *Traité*, ii, pt. i, No. 1605. From a find at Nea Cassandra. Bought in 1898 at Constantinople.

The diagonally divided reverse occurs with different obverses (Pozzi Catal., Nos. 773, 774); the forms in Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. LI, No. 8, and Hirsch, xiii, No. 891, give the transition to the form of incuse found in the coins of the flat fabric.

46. Obv.—Ass standing r.; in front, scroll. Border of dots.

Rev.—Incuse square divided into six triangles.

At 15 mm. Wt. 2·14 g. Pl. VII. 2. Flat fabric. From the Sir Hermann Weber Collection. Bought in 1896. Compare Pozzi Catal., No. 777 (same obv., and perhaps same rev. die, one of the six triangles being blocked up).

⁶ Num. Chron., 1895, p. 92, Pl. v. 3. Head seems to have doubted the authenticity of this specimen.

- 47. Obv.—Ass standing r. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—MIN on r., downwards; krater; on l., ivy-spray.
 Concave field.
 - A Phoenician diobol \rightarrow 13 mm. Wt. 1.24 g. Pl. VII. 3. Presented by Miss Helen Farquhar. From the Sir H. Weber Collection. From the same dies as the Allatini (Sotheby's 9.v.1904, No. 40) and Philipsen (Hirsch, xxv, No. 389) specimens. Late fifth century.

Larisa.

- 48. Obv.—Horseman, carrying two spears, wearing kausia and cloak, on horse pacing 1. Behind his head,

 ≥; below horse, O.
 - Rev.—-->IPAA on l. downwards. Girl seated l., a cushion (?) on her knees, holding in l. mirror into which she looks, raising r. towards head. Incuse square.
 - $\mathcal{R} \geq 15$ mm. Wt. 1.38 g. Pl. VII. 5. From the Sir H. Weber Collection. Presented by Miss Helen Farquhar.

Apparently a trihemiobol. The coin of 1.81 g. with a similar rev. to r. (B.M.C., p. 28, No. 39, Pl. V, No. 5) is a diobol, not a trihemiobol, as stated in *Hist. Num.*², p. 298.

Acarnanian League.

- 49. Obv.—AKAP on 1. downwards, NANΩN below. Head of Acheloös, horned and bearded, r., jugate with another (beardless?) head.
 - Rev.—ΛΕΩΝ on l. downwards, ΟΡΣΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ on r. downwards. Apollo, nude, seated l., holding bow in r., as on the larger denominations.
 - Æ ↑ 16 mm. Wt. 3·17 g. Pl. VII. 6.

The magistrate Leon, son of Orsikrates, is known to have struck halves and the only known example of the sixth (Imhoof-Blumer, Num. Zeit., x, p. 29, No. 30). This appears to be a third, also a new denomination,

for this group at least. The head which is jugate with Acheloös, I cannot explain; it is not due to double-striking.

Anactorium.

50. Obv.—Pegasus flying r.; below, ivy-leaf.

Rev.—Head of Aphrodite r. in Corinthian helmet; behind, plough and **A**. Concave field.

 $\mathcal R$ stater 124 mm. Wt. 8.47 g. Pl. VII. 7. Presented by Mr. Henry Van den Bergh.

The obverse is from the same die as B.M.C., *Corinth*, p. 116, No. 13, which has on the reverse a tripod as symbol, and the ethnic in full.

Chalcis or Olynthus?

51. Obv.—Slow quadriga to r., driven by bearded charioteer holding goad in r. and reins in both hands. Two horses are shown, with faint duplication of outlines here and there.

Rev.—Incuse square, divided into eight triangular compartments, of which some are filled up.

At tetradrachm. 24.5 mm. Wt. 16.94 g. Pl. VII. 4.

The only other specimen of this coin hitherto recorded was in the Finlay Collection, and was sold in Col. Sandeman's Sale (Sotheby's, 1911), No. 82. It is now in Monsieur Jameson's Collection (No. 1311 a, on Pl. xcvi). Our specimen is less well preserved, and struck to one side, so that the head of the charioteer is off the flan. The two coins are from the same dies, but the new one is the later, as is clear from the more fractured state of the reverse die.

The attribution to Olynthus is due to Head.⁷ I

⁷ Num. Chron., 1878, p. 85.

confess that a Euboic origin seems to me to be more probable. The incuse reverse does not seem to be specially Macedonian, and the combination of this with the peculiarly flat treatment of the background of the relief is rather characteristic of a more southern Coins such as those of Coressia (B.M.C., district. Crete, &c., Pl. XXII, No. 1) and Aegina (B.M.C., Attica. &c., Pl. XXIII, Nos. 1, 2) are the nearest parallels in fabric known to me. Euboea accordingly seems to be indicated by these parallels, combined with the standard, since Attica is out of the question. The coin is obviously of very early date-of the first half of the sixth century. I observe that M. Jameson. though he dates it later (about 520 B.C.) is in agreement with what is said above as to its resemblance in fabric to Cycladic coins.

The extreme scarcity of Euboean coins earlier than the later sixth century B.C. is one of the puzzles of the history of Greek coinage. Even if the very doubtful attribution to Euboea of certain pieces of electrum and of the "Wappenmünzen" be accepted, the amount of the coinage still seems inadequate to the importance of Euboean trade. It may be suggested that the Euboean cities, being in close association with Corinth, were content to use the Corinthian money.

Chalcis.

- 52. Obv.—-- MAP]AV AN[TWNEINOC -- Bust of Caracalla r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ beginning above on l. Ganymede, r., nude, holding pedum, being carried up by eagle; in field r., open cylindrical basket containing ears of corn? Border of dots.

 $AE \rightarrow 25$ mm. Wt. 8·22 g. Pl. VII. 8. The obverse is from the same die as another coin of Caracalla in the British Museum, and probably also as the Munich specimen mentioned below.

Habich has already illustrated s another representation of this subject, in which the type is to the left, and there is no basket. One of the places with which the rape of Ganymede was associated by legend was Harpagion, in the neighbourhood of Chalcis.

Aegina (Egyptian imitation).

53. Obv.—Tortoise, with smooth shell, down the middle of which is a row of dots.

Rev.—Incuse impression, showing the usual four alternate triangles of the square divided into eight, and also a fifth triangle in one of the quarters.

 $A\!\!R$ 25.5 \times 23.5 mm. Wt. 16.83 g. From the Pozzi Sale, No. 1617. Sixth cent. B.C.

The coin has been cut through with a chisel, but has lost no metal. Its weight is Attic, and, according to the Sale Catalogue, its provenance is Egyptian. This mistake in the weight, combined with the provenance, is sufficient to prove that it is an Egyptian imitation. There is no doubt that a very large proportion of the Athenian "owls" which come from Egypt were actually made there (the only two recorded ancient dies of Athenian "owls" are of Egyptian provenance), and familiarity with the Attic weight on the part of the makers caused the mistake.

Magnesia ad Maeandrum.

54. Obv.—Horseman r. on prancing horse; he wears helmet, cuirass with pteryges, and chlamys flying out behind him, and carries lance couched in r.

⁸ Arch. Anz., 1919, p. 35.

Rev.—MACNH above, APIXTEYX AHMHTPIOY in exergue. Humped bull butting l., kneeling on l. foreleg; behind, ear of barley. The whole in maeander border.

 $A\!\!R\uparrow$ Persian double siglos. 28 mm. Wt. 10-96 g. Pl. VII. 9. Presented by Mr. W. H. Woodward.

The name of the magistrate is not recorded by Münsterberg, but occurs in the abbreviated form APIΣΤΕΥ ΔΗΜΗ on two bronze coins of the same types acquired by the Museum in 1907. Of more importance, however, is the weight, which is the double siglos of the Persian standard. The earlier coins of the same types are on the Rhodian standard. The same change took place at Abydos about the same time—i.e. in the period 320–280 B.C. The so-called "Attic octobols" which occur in the third century in many Ionian cities (e.g. Ephesus, Magnesia, Priene), and also further north, as at Calchedon and Byzantium, are really sigloi.

The magistrate of the new coin cannot be identical with Aristeus, son of Demetrios, who was Stephanephoros, if the inscription in which the latter is

¹⁰ The British Museum specimen, B.M.C, No. 2, is light (13.32 g.); but Head in *Hist. Num.*², p. 582, gives the weight of the tetradrachm as 226 grains (14.64 g.), perhaps by calculation from the didrachms. The light Rhodian weight seems to point to

the period after Alexander.

The only other specimen of this weight published so far is the coin of KAAAIANAE KAAAIKPATOY (Hirsch, Katal., xxvi, No. 542, 10-84 g.). Other specimens of the same class which have lately come into the market are the following: APIETEYE Δ HMHTPIOY(two specimens); EPIKPATHE Δ IAFOPOY (two specimens); a second KAAAIANAE KAAAIKPATOY; and MAN Δ PO Δ QPO Σ MINNIQNO Σ . Since the above was written, this last coin, and one of those of Epikrates, have been acquired by the Museum.

mentioned is rightly dated by Kern 11 to the beginning of the second century.

Phocaea.

55. Obv.—Forepart of bull r., head turned back. Behind, seal downwards.

Rev.—Quadripartite incuse square, of millsail pattern.

EL 11.5 mm. Wt. 2.53 g. Pl. VII. 10. From the Collection of the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch.

This type is an exact facsimile in miniature of the electrum stater now generally attributed to the time of the Ionian Revolt. The specimen is not from the same obverse die as the specimen already published by Head.¹² Both the latter and the other specimen immediately preceding it, with the seal above the type, are so much worn that the style can hardly be judged. This may account for Head's having placed them where he did, in his group dated "fifth and fourth centuries B.C." instead of in his earlier group "sixth and fifth centuries B.C." If the attribution of the stater above mentioned to the Ionian Revolt be accepted, we can hardly date the sixths later than 450.

Alabanda.

56. A tetradrachm of the same types as that published last year (Num. Chron., p. 173, No. 23), but with the date IΓ, and without any symbol (↑ 28 mm., wt. 12·14 g. Pl. VII. 11). A specimen with the date IΔ has also been acquired still more recently, and one with Θ is in the market; both these lack symbols.

¹¹ Inschriften von Magnesia, No. 98.

¹² B. M. C., Ionia, p. 213, No. 74,

Pharnabazus in Cilicia.

- 57. Obv.—Head of Arethusa, facing, copied from Kimon's Syracusan tetradrachm; wears necklace with pendant drops. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—קלך מרכבוו חלך on l. downwards, in Aramaic. Head of Ares, bearded, l., in crested helmet, cloak fastened on l. shoulder with bulla. Behind,

 Border of dots.

 \Re $\ \ \$ 24 mm. Wt. 10.89 g. Pl. VII. 12. From the Sir H Weber Collection (bought from Lambros in 1887).

Cp. Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. CVIII, No. 5 (same obverse die). The form of the ankh is that which, according to Babelon, is perhaps special to the mint of Issus.

Seleucus I.

- 58. Obv.—Head of young Heracles r. in lion-skin. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. upwards, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. downwards. Zeus seated l, legs crossed, resting l. on sceptre, holding in r. wreath-bearing Nike approaching him; in field l. , under chair No back to chair. Border of dots.

 $\mathcal R$ tetradrachm. $\downarrow 28$ mm. Wt. 16·21 g. Presented by Mr. Henry Van den Bergh.

- 59. Obv.—Head of young Heracles r. in lion-skin. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—BΑΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ] in ex., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. downwards. Zeus seated l., legs not crossed, on chair with back; rests l. on sceptre, holds in r. eagle r. In field l., B in circle; below chair Border of dots. Concave field.

R tetradrachm. ← 27.5 mm. Wt. 16.23 g. Presented by Mr. R. B. Whitehead. From India.

A monogram of **KP** is given by Babelon on an elephant-quadriga tetradrachm (*Rois de Syrie*, No. 65).

Demetrius I and Laodice.

- 60. Obv.—Heads r., jugate, of Demetrius, diademed, and Laodice, wearing stephane. Fillet border.
 - Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r. downwards, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ•Υ
 on l. downwards, ΣΩΤΗΡ•Σ in ex. Tyche
 seated l. on throne supported by winged female
 monster; she holds cornucopiae in l., and
 uncertain object (short sceptre?) in r.; in field l.,
 H and palm-branch; all enclosed in a wreath.

X ↑ 18 mm. Wt. 842 g. Pl. VII. 13. From Shuster.

Gold coins of this couple are hitherto unrecorded. The new piece resembles the silver in types and in all details except the wreath enclosing the reverse. What kind of plant is intended, I am unable to say; but it is not the usual laurel. The edge of the coin shows signs of cracking, and it may have been restruck on a stater of an earlier ruler, though there are no signs of earlier types.

Tyre.

- 61. Obv.—Head of Tyche r., wearing turreted crown, veil, ear-ring [and necklace?]. Border of dots.
 - Rev.-Galley I. with stem curving forward in volute and aphlaston at stern; on it, Astarte standing I., holding [aphlaston?] in extended r., cruciform standard (with taenia?) attached) in I.; in field I., monogram of TYP; r. LBI; below, traces of Phoenician letters.

The date 12 by the Tyrian era corresponds to 115/114 B.C. The coin belongs to the group of which B.M.C., No. 248 (two years later) was hitherto the only known representative, and is the earliest bronze coin dated by the new era of Tyre. There may have

been a palm-branch behind the head, as on the other coin, but this portion of the design is off the flan.

Gaza.

- Obv. AVTKAIANTΩNINOCCE Bust of Caracalla r., with short beard, laureate, undraped. Border of dots.
 - Rev.—[ΔH]MAPX. EXVΠΑΤΟCΔ Eagle, with wings spread, standing to front, head l., with wreath in beak; in field r., a star; between legs, 4 in a dotted circle.

Base A tetradrachm. \downarrow 26 mm. Wt. 12·46 g. Pl. VII. 14. From Glendining's Sale, 16, xii, 1920, Lot 84.

The Phoenician *mim*, which is the mark of Gaza (B.M.C., *Palestine*, p. lxxi) is very badly made, the vertical strokes on l. and r. being very short, and the effect being confused by the addition of serifs to the middle vertical stroke. Doubtless the engraver did not know the meaning of the sign. Base tetradrachms of Caracalla and Diadumenian marked with the sign have already been published (B. M. C., p. lxxviii f., after Imhoof-Blumer).

Spain, Arsgdr (Regio Saguntina).

63. Obv.—Beardless male head r., diademed. Border of dots.

Rev.—ARSGDR in Celtiberian, in exergue. Bull charging r.; above, cockle-shell. Linear circle.

R denarius \(18 \) mm. Wt. 2.76 g. Pl. VII. 15. Presented by Dr. W. L. Hildburgh. From a find at Cordova. Cp. Heiss, p. 288, No. 2, Pl. xl. Hübner, Mon. Ling. Iber., p. 45 r.

I take this opportunity of repairing an omission in my report of acquisitions in Num. Chron., 1919,

pp. 1-16, where the denarius illustrated in Pl. II, No. 13, should have been described as follows:

Obv.—Male head r., beardless, with curly hair; behind, Celtiberian Q; in front, II. Border of dots.

Rev.—Helmeted horseman charging r., lance couched; below, XトH↑VMHO Border of dots.

At denarius $\mbox{$\backslash$}$ 20 mm. Wt. 3.54 g. Presented by Mr. J. Ulrich.

In reply to an inquiry, Don Antonio Vives y Escudero kindly informed me that this denarius is quite unknown, and presents various extraordinary peculiarities. The inscription, according to Hübner's transliteration, would appear to be QPHVGIHO. The two strokes in front of the neck might be thought to be a mark of value; they also occur on an as of Clunia (Delgado, Pl. CXXI. 1). But, as Don Antonio remarks, neither the denarius nor the as was regarded as the double of any unit.

Abyssinia, Ezana.

64. Obv. — +HZA+NAC+BACI+ACYC beginning below on l. Crowned bust r., holding sceptre in r., between two ears of corn. Inner dotted circle; outer border, if any, off the flan.

Rev.—+^\\\\UHHITWH+BICI+^ACHC beginning below on l. Diademed bust r., holding branch in r., between two ears of corn. Inner dotted circle; outer border, if any, off the flan.

↑ 15 mm. Wt. 1.93 g. Pl. VII. 16.

Of the same types as the coin from the Prideaux Collection described in *Num. Chron.*, 1917, p. 27, Pl. III. 8, but varying slightly in the inscription. As I remarked at the time, the authenticity of the Prideaux specimen is doubtful; but the present

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM. 175

specimen is above suspicion. It confirms the reading $H\zeta\alpha\nu\alpha s$; on the other hand it differs on the reverse, reading $B\iota\sigma\iota$ $A\lambda\epsilon\nu\epsilon$ (?) instead of $A\lambda\eta\nu$.

Joel.

- 65. Obv.—+1+ω+H+Λ beginning above on l. Diademed (?) bust r. between two ears of corn; inner dotted circle; outer plain flat rim.
 - Rev.—BACI+IA 三 WMI beginning above on l. Crowned bust r., between two ears of corn; ornaments as on obverse.
 - $N \rightarrow 17$ mm. Wt. 1.48 g. Pl. VII. 17.

Littmann, in Deutsche Aksum-Exped., i, p. 55, No. 6, cites Paribeni for the name $I\omega\eta\lambda$ on a coin. The other known coins of this king bear Ethiopic inscriptions (cp. Num. Chron., 1917, p. 30), and are presumably of bronze.

G. F. HILL.

VII

A PRE-GREEK COINAGE IN THE NEAR EAST?

Any question connected with the use of money in Babylonia and Assyria has always been approached by students of those ancient civilizations with extreme caution. In describing documents in which it is now commonly recognized that gold or silver are simply employed as a means of exchange, the early Assyriologists were always careful to employ terms which seemed merely to imply barter; time has shown that their caution was excessive, and that the various metals were commonly used as early as the second half of the third millennium before Christ as a means of exchange in Babylonia, in Assyria, and in Cappadocia. An exchange of metal of this kind can exist without a coinage. In cases where an individual impresses his seal upon a piece of silver as attesting its weight or quality, the resulting pieces are money, but not coins. Is there any proof that in Assyria there were metal objects marked in a distinctive way which were accepted by traders as having a certain value, without regard to their actual weight? Professor Jensen (Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, xiv, p. 183) and Dr. Johns (Assyrian Deeds and Documents, vol. ii) long ago asserted that such proof was to be found in the language employed to describe money in Assyrian documents, and in the Syriac names for certain coins.

Professor Lehmann Haupt (Z.A. xiv, 361) rejected the supposition very definitely, but by no means invalidated the arguments. The chief reason for doubting whether the Assyrians used coins is the fact that no coins belonging to the Assyrian period have yet been found.

In 1909 the late Professor L. W. King published a new inscription of Sennacherib (Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, Part XXVI), in which there is a passage of great importance for numismatists, though it does not seem to have received much attention. Sennacherib, describing various ornaments of his palace at Nineveh, proceeds to explain how he made some colossal bulls of bronze:—

'With great beams and wooden frameworks for twelve shining (?) lions, as well as for twelve exalted bull-colossi, complete in form, and twenty-two female colossi, who were clothed with exuberant strength and abounded in might and vigour, according to the command of the god, I fashioned moulds of clay and poured bronze therein, as in casting half-shekel pieces, and I completed their construction.'

Professor King's translation of this passage, given above, has not been questioned by any Assyriologist, and may be accepted as correct without any doubt whatever. The importance of the passage is twofold. Firstly it shows that half-shekel pieces were cast.² The

¹ Schroeder, in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1918, Spalten 276-9, uses this passage as an argument for early coinage.

² C. Niebuhr in O.L.Z., 1919, Spalten 149-152, replies to Schroeder in his article entitled 'Zur Entstehung des Münzbegriffs'. He says of these pieces—'bei unbefangener Prüfung ergibt sich dass die Stelle wichtig für die grosse Verbreitung und behördliche Herstellung von Gewichten dieser Norm ist', but he admits 'dann lag die Erfindung der Münze allerdings nicht mehr fern'.

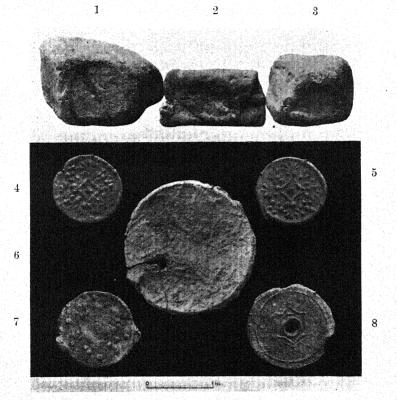
comparison of the casting with the process employed in constructing the bulls shows that they were cast thin. Also we know that the Assyrian word for the half-shekel, zuzu, survived many centuries in this connexion, and was, in the Syriac form had, used not of a weight but of a coin. It is hard to know what to call these half-shekel pieces if not coins. The second point of importance is that Sennacherib, boasting of his ingenuity in casting the bulls, is seeking to explain the process employed by one already well known; in other words, the casting of half-shekel pieces must have been practised for many generations before his reign, which commenced in 705 B.C.

Now there is not a single known example of such a half-shekel piece in any Museum. It is of course by no means certain that such may not yet be found; therein lies the inherent weakness of the argument from absence. But it is not probable that much metal of this kind was left in the great Assyrian cities when they were sacked by the Medes, and if any such half-shekel pieces do remain buried, they will not be in such a condition as to be easily recognized by the excavator. Some conception of their form may, however, be obtained from objects of a much earlier period, which it is the principal object of this article to describe.

Texts from Assyria and Cappadocia recently published ³ show that in these lands, between 2250 and 1200 B.C., money was made, not only of gold, silver, and copper, but also of lead; and that lead was, in fact, the

³ Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts, Leipzig, 1920. Contenau, Trente Tablettes Cappadociennes, Paris, 1919. Contenau, Tablettes Cappadociennes (Musée du Louvre), Paris, 1920. Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum, Part I, London, 1921.

commonest currency. Thus in the code of Assyrian laws, the money fine when inflicted is always specified in terms of lead. The copies of this code now extant date from the thirteenth or twelfth centuries, but the



Lead Ingots and Disks, from Kal'ah Sharkat.

code was probably drawn up before that period. In the earliest times of course, lead, despite its weight and lack of durability, must have presented obvious advantages. Not only was it available in great quantities, but its softness enabled the trader to mark it easily and shape it into convenient forms. In Babylonia, on the other hand, lead was never so extensively employed, because its weight was prohibitive; the caravans could not carry a sufficient quantity to the south to make it pay. Now a collection of antiquities excavated by the German archaeologists at Kal'ah Sharkat before the war, and recently acquired by the British Museum, contains a few objects of lead of peculiar interest. The objects seem to belong to about 1400-1200, but this is a purely a priori conjecture; the account of the excavators must be awaited before such matters can be definitely settled. Among these are some which prove that lead was actually used for ornament. Thus there is the figure of a woman, a pin (?) with head in the form of a locust and a ring. It is, therefore, not impossible that the circular roundels in this collection (see Figure, Nos. 4-8) were used for ornaments. There are certain difficulties, however, in considering the objects as such. If they were intended for personal adornment, lead is a most unsuitable metal for the purpose, especially in a land where gold and silver, though precious, were obtainable by the ordinary trade routes. The evidence of the documents is, that lead was principally used as a means of exchange. It seems probable that the archaeological evidence may show that these lead roundels were thus used. For with them were found two other classes of lead objects. The first class consists of a number of lumps of lead, bearing stamped impressions, now invisible. These lumps vary considerably in size and shape (see Figure, Nos. 1, 3), and there can be no doubt that these are actual specimens of the 'sealed lead' constantly referred to in the Cappadocian documents. The second

class is formed by 'twists', made of lead beaten out into a thin sheet (see Figure, No. 2). The number of these 'twists' forbids the idea that these were mere waste pieces of the lead, screwed up and thrown away. It seems to the writer very probable that these pieces were twisted in order to be strung upon a thread and carried after the fashion of Chinese 'cash'. Of these three classes of lead objects found together, the roundels, the lumps, and the 'twists', the lumps were certainly used as money, and the 'twists' were probably so used: it is not rash to infer that the roundels may also have been currency.

The roundels were all originally flat circular disks, but have in most cases been bent out of shape, either more or less. The largest measure 2 in. in diameter, the smallest 1 in. The greater number are between $l_{\frac{1}{16}}$ in. and $l_{\frac{1}{8}}$ in. Thickness about $l_{\frac{1}{16}}$ in. One side is plain, the other bears a pattern, which is, in all cases where it is visible, a concave-sided square, with palmette decoration at the corners, the vacant field being occupied with spots.

Slight differences, e.g. in the size of the squares, show that not all the roundels were from the same model; there must have been at least four models employed in making Nos. 1-12. On some may still be seen the ends of the 'runners', or the slight chip showing where the 'runners' were broken off (see Figure, No. 7). A list of the weights will be found below. No. 16 (Figure, No. 8) is worthy of special attention. original diameter was about 13 in. The general design is the same as that of the other roundels, save that the square is replaced by a concave-sided hexagon, and that the object was originally cast with a circular hole

through the middle, $\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter. Certainly it would look as if this object were intended to be affixed in some way as a decoration, perhaps by means of a pin. It must, however, be remembered that the other explanation is also possible, namely, that the roundel was intended to be strung upon a thread, and so represent a refinement on the 'twists'—not an unlikely explanation when the needs of the travelling trader in the Ancient East are considered.

Whether these roundels were ornaments or currency, there is now a class of object which enables us to picture the half-shekel pieces to which Sennacherib refers. They were probably thin, circular disks with a pattern on one side. There is some evidence that in the Sargonid period the pattern often took the form of the head of Ishtar (see reference to Jensen and Johns above). In order to establish these half-shekel pieces as coins, it remains to be shown that they had a value per se. Now Dr. Johns has already pointed out the significance in this connexion of a formula common in the business documents of the Sargonid period 720-620 B.C. It is frequently agreed that so many minas are to be paid 'in (minas) of Carchemish', less often 'in (minas) of the king'. It is usual to interpret these expressions as a reference to two distinct standards of weight; the standard mina of Carchemish was half a royal Assyrian mina. This would appear a good explanation were it not that sometimes no standard is mentioned. Now in the early documents from Cappadocia, dating from 2250-2150 B.C., it is frequently stated of sums of money that they have been paid, or are to be paid, in money 'of my seal', 'of your seal', 'of the seal of so-and-so'. The commercial customs of the East are so conservative that there is

strong ground for believing that the specification in the Sargonid documents is of the same type as that in the Cappadocian documents; namely, that the money is marked in a certain way. Such a specification shows that marked money had a value in itself. So long as a piece bore the distinctive features of a mina of Carchemish, it was legitimate to use it in payment of a sum where such minas were expressly mentioned in the agreement. When royal minas were specified, the money must bear the royal mark. When merely weights are mentioned, with no specification, the sum might be paid in bullion, not in specie; scales were then necessary, and presumably then only.

In the early period to which the Cappadocian documents belong, it is to be supposed that only the stamped lumps of metal were in use, though this is not certain.

Now our document very clearly shows that these stamped lumps had a value in excess of their actual weight. I give a partial translation of this document, since it may prove of importance in the consideration of the origin of the coinage.

'Enlil-bani has a credit against Ah-shalim, son of Buzuta and Ashur-taklaku, son of Alahim, of 42 minas 1 shekel of refined silver. They shall pay the sum in 46 five-day periods (i.e. 230 days) after the five-day period of Luzina (i.e. when L. holds a certain office). If they do not pay, they shall pay interest at the rate of 1 shekel per mina per month. Month of Belti-ekallim ('the Lady of the Palace'), eponymy of the hand of Akutim (i.e. year in which Akutim has appointed a deputy to act for himself as eponym). On a mina of the house of the $ga[ru]^4$ (a kind of magistrate) they shall return $1\frac{1}{6}$ shekels, and pay the silver. And a second tablet of theirs. Enlil-bani has a credit against Ah-shalim son of Buzuta and Ashur-taklaku son of Alahim. They shall pay

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⁴ Of this word the scribe has only written the first syllable, omitting two signs by error.

the sum in 35 five-day periods after the five-day period of Luzina. If they do not pay, they shall pay interest at the rate of 1 shekel per mina per month. On a mina of the house of the yaru they shall return $1\frac{1}{6}$ shekels and shall pay the silver.'

[Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets, plate 2, 11.1-20.]

Each of these transactions is so clearly phrased that there can be little doubt as to the interpretation. In both cases it is expressly stipulated that for every mina 'of the house of the garu', i.e. stamped with the official seal of the city, originally borrowed, the debtors are to repay 15 shekels additional to the mina. This is not intended as interest, which is stipulated for separately. It can only be a recognition of the value of the stamped piece over and above its actual weight. Such a value of course was not likely to attach to a piece stamped by an individual trader; it was due to the communal character of the magistracy in Cappadocia, when one trader succeeded another at short intervals in the magistrate's office,5 that the 'mina of the house of the garu' obtained the special recognition. That the communal character of the stamped pieces is not a fiction of the imagination is shown by some unpublished documents which distinctly speak of 'the seal of the city'.

To sum up, there were in circulation in Assyria in the Sargonid period 720-620 B.C. half-shekel pieces, cast in moulds, perhaps of the same character as the leaden roundels which probably date from 1400-1200 B.C. These leaden roundels may themselves have been used as a means of exchange, and thus be a development of

⁵ This is true whether, as is generally believed, the garu was a single official or the name of a college of magistrates, as proposed by Dr. Julius Lewy, Studien zu den altassyrischen Texte aus Kappadokien, p. 16.

the stamped lumps of lead which were commonly used in the district round Caesarea (Mazaca) in the period 2250-2150 B.C. The issue of these stamped pieces in the early period was promiscuous, but pieces stamped officially already had a recognized value. By the Sargonid period only the 'royal' and the 'Carchemish' issues were recognized.

WEIGHTS OF LEAD ROUNDELS.

	Grammes.	Grains Troy
No. 1	7.64	117.9
2	. 5.73	88.4
3	. 6.58	101.5
4 .	. 7.97 .	123.0
5	. 7.11	109.7
6	6.84	105.6
7	6.23	96.2
8	5.37	82.8
9	. 5.86	90.5
10	. 5.48	84.5
11	. 4.90	75.6
12	. 6.91	106.6
13	. 5.57	86.0
14	. 8.15	. 125.8
15	5.20	80.2
16	9.78	151.1
17	. 28.8	444.4

SIDNEY SMITH.

The Editors regret that owing to the author's absence in Mesopotamia it has been impossible to ask his consideration of the criticisms which were expressed when his theory was communicated to the Society, or of the minor editorial corrections which it has

been necessary to make.

^{**} The Editors are of opinion that the documents described by the author are so important for the history of currency that they welcome the opportunity of presenting them for the consideration of scholars. They must not, however, be held as endorsing the identification of the leaden disks as actual coins, rather than ornaments or counters or, possibly, draughtsmen for some kind of game. The absence of any inscription, at a period when inscribed weights were familiar, is perhaps the strongest argument against the coinage-theory.

VIII.

"VICTORIA IMPERI ROMANI" AND SOME POSTHUMOUS ISSUES OF GALBA.

[SEE PLATE IX.]

The coinage of Galba has always seemed too large for a reign of less than a year; the student, embarrassed in his classification by too much wealth, will probably experience a sense of relief if he finds that a part of the material may be assigned to a later date. It is the object of this paper (1) to prove that certain issues, to be described presently, are posthumous, (2) to investigate the conditions under which they were struck. The criteria, to which appeal is made, are: (a) style and portraiture, (b) form of obverse legend, (c) general choice and relationships of reverse types.

Group 1.

Aureus.

- 1. Obv.—IMP•GALBA CAESAR AVG• P•P• Head laureate r.: globe below bust.
 - Rev.—AEQVITAS...¹ Aequitas standing l., holding scales and cornucopiae. B.M. [Pl. IX. 1.]
- 2. Obv.—As on No. 1 above.
 - Rev.—FORTVNA AVG. Fortune standing I., holding rudder and cornucopiae. C. 71. [Pl. IX. 2.]

¹ Legend incomplete; the lost part cannot be recovered.

- 3. Obv.—As on No. 1 above.
 - Rev.—PAX AVG. Pax standing l., holding caduceus and corn-ears in r. hand. C. 139 (imperfect).
- 4. Obv.—As on No. 1 above, but SER•SVLPICIVS GALBA.

Rev.—AVG·IMP· Type of No. 3. De Quelen, 1888.

Denarius.

5. Obv. - As on No. 4 above.

Rev.— ,, ,, C. 10.

- 6, 7. Obv.—As on No. 1 above, but GALBA IMP.
 - Rev.—CONCORDIA PROVINCIA. and PROVINCIARVM. Concordia standing l., holding branch and cornucopiae. C. 31, 32. [Pl. IX. 3.]
 - Obv.—As on No. 1 above.
 Rev.—As on No. 2 above. C. 70.
 - 9. Obv.—As on No. 1 above.
 - Rev.—ROMA VICTRIX Roma seated 1. on cuirass, holding Victory and parazonium. C. 226.
 - 9 a. Obv.—As on No. 1 above, but CALBA IMPERAT.
 - Rev.—VICTORIA P•R• Victory standing I. on globe holding wreath and palm. Cp. C. 320. (P•M• should probably be P•P•.)

Sestertius.

- 10. Obv.—SER•GALBA IMP•CAESAR AVG•P•M•TR•P•P•P• Head laureate r.: globe below bust.
 - Rev.—VICTORIAE IMP•GALBAE AVG•S•C• Victory standing r., inscribing S•P•Q•R• on shield, set on column. F. A. Walters Coll.
- 11. Obv.—As on No. 10 above.
 - Rev.—XXXX REMISSA S-C- Triumphal arch. F. A. Walters Coll.

Dupondius.

12. Obv.—As on No. 10 above.

Rev.—FIDES PVBLICA S.C. Fides standing l., holding patera and cornucopiae. B.M. [Pl. IX. 10.]

13. Obv.—As on No. 10 above.

Rev.—LIBERTAS PVBLICA S•C• Libertas standing l., holding pileus and rod. C. 114.

As.

14, 15. Obv.—SER•GALBA IMP•CAESAR AVG•PON•M•
TR•POT• or PON•M•TR•P•P•P•

Rev.—ROMA S•C• Roma seated I. on cuirass, holding Victory and parazonium. C. 181, 182.²

Proposed attribution: mint of Lugdunum under Vespasian, A.D. 70-71.

A comparison of these coins with coins of Vitellius and Vespasian of Lugdunum proves that these coins belong to that mint. Two varieties of obverse style and portrait appear:

- (a) on aureus 1-4, denarius 5, 8, 9, 9 a;
- (b) on denarius 6, 7, and all the aes (10-15).

Obv. - SER•GALBA [IMP•]CAESAR AVG•P•M• TR•P•P•P•, head, laureate, l.

> SER•GALBAIMP•CAESARAVG•PONT• MAX•TR•P•, head, laureate, r.

Rev.—PAX AVG.S.C.; Pax standing 1., sacrificing over altar and holding branch and caduceus, should belong to this group.

A few asses of the mint of Tarraco, with title P•P•, and a sestertius of Gallic mintage, with rev. P•P•OB CIVES SERVATOS in wreath, should probably be added.

² C. 143-4 ("M.B.": dupondius or as (?₁)

(a) is closely related to aurei and denarii of Vitellius and Vespasian. (b) to aes of Nero and Vespasian -all of Lugdunum mintage.3 The obverse legend IMP.GALBA CAESAR AVG.P.P. is modelled on the last of the titles of Nero on his aurei and denarii and some of the latter were probably struck at Lugdunum. The legend SER.SVLPICIVS GALBA IMP.AVG. (or AVC-IMP-) is only found here (but see below, group 2), the legends of the aes (10-15) are in general form like a large series of aes struck in Galba's lifetime, but are peculiar in giving him the title of "P(ater) P(atriae)", which, we are told, he never bore.4 The reverse types of the aurei and denarii (1-5 and 8) are amazingly like those of similar coins of Vespasian of Lugdunum A.D.70 (with legend COS-ITER-TR-POT-&c.: cp. Pl. IX. 5). "Concordia Provinciarum (Provincia)" (6, 7) is a common type of Galba's lifetime, as is "Libertas Publica S.C." (13). "Roma Victrix" (9), "Roma S.C.' (14, 15) show a common type of Nero. repeated by Vespasian but only used here by Galba. "XXXX Remissa S.C." (11) echoes the "Quadragensuma remissa S·C·" of Galba's as of Tarraco. The legend "Victoriae Imp. Galbae Aug. S.C." recalls Galba's silver quinarii,5 but the type is not used except here until Vitellius and Vespasian. "Fides Publica S·C·" (12) and "Pax Aug. S·C·" (14 note) show

The silver quinarii (C. 317, 318, Pl. IX. 4), with rev. VICTORIA GALBAE AVG•, Victory standing r. or l. on globe, holding wreath and palm, are similar in style and probably belong here too (cf. T•P•=TR•P• on obv. as often on coins of Vespasian).

⁴ Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht, ii, p. 756.

⁵ Themselves perhaps of this group: see note 3 above.

reverse types of Vespasian. The series, in fact, is rather loosely attached to the main series of Galba and rather closely connected at several points with the coinage of Vitellius and Vespasian. The assignment of the title of "P.P." to Galba, here and in no other historical document, suggests that it may possibly have been a posthumous honour, commemorated only on posthumous coins. There was no opportunity for the Senate to honour Galba's memory while his enemies. Otto and Vitellius, held the throne. The accession of Vespasian opened up new possibilities. It may well have seemed unsuitable to "consecrate" a victim of open violence, so many months after his death, especially as consecration was still an extraordinary event and imperial gods were still few (Divus Julius, Augustus, and Claudius). The bestowal of the title of "Pater patriae" was less open to such objection.6

It is perhaps not too much to claim that a strong presumption has been created in favour of the date suggested for these issues. We must pass on to further

In Suetonius (Galba 23) we read: "Senatus, ut primum licitum est, statuam ei decreverat rostratae columnae superstantem in parte fori, qua trucidatus est; sed decretum Vespasianus abolevit, percussores sibi ex Hispania in Iudaeam submisisse opinatus." This partly confirms our suppositions, partly suggests doubts. For, if Vespasian entertained such suspicions of Galba, would he have allowed coinage in his name? But Suetonius is notoriously fond of tales of assassinations and this particular story has no special likelihood to recommend it. Tacitus (Hist. iv. 20) gives us the evidence we need: Domitian in A.D. 70 proposed the restitution of Galba's honours, and the proposal was carried and put into effect; Antonius Primus had already ordered the renewal of Galba's honours in Italy, thinking it "decorum pro causa" (Hist. iii. 7); cp. Hist. i. 10, ii. 6, 58, iii. 85.

evidence, which raises that presumption to the level of practical certainty.

Group 2.

There is a fine series of aes of Galba, distinguished by obverse legend SER·SVLPI·GALBA IMP·CAESAR AVG·TR·P· (or P·M·TR·P·)⁷—bust draped, undraped or with aegis, head laureate, r. or l.—globe below neck, when undraped—which has been recognized before now as holding a place apart (cf. Plate IX. 6, 7, 8, 9, obv.).⁸

The following reverse types occur:

Sestertius.

- 1. ADLOCVTIO S.C. Galba standing r. on platform haranguing troops. C. 2 ff. [Pl. IX. 6, rev.]
- 2. HISPANIA CLVNIA SVL·S·C· Galba seated I., receiving a palladium from Clunia standing r. before him. C. 86 ff.
- 3. HONOS ET VIRTVS S-C- Honos and Virtus, standing r. and l., facing one another. C. 89 ff.
- 4. LIBERTAS RESTITVTA S.C. Galba standing 1., raising up kneeling Liberty: in background, Roma standing r. C. 135 ff. [Pl. IX. 8, rev.]
- MARS VICTOR S•C• Mars standing facing, holding spear and trophy. C. 138.
- 6. PIETAS AVGVSTI S.C. Pietas standing 1. by altar, on which is relief of Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius. C. 160.
- 7. ROMA RESTI. S.C. Galba standing I., raising up kneeling Roma, holding child. C. 219.

⁷ For legend cp. SER-SVLPICIVS GALBA on aurei and denarii above.

⁸ Mr. F. A. Walters has suggested that it was struck in January A. D. 69, in connexion with the adoption of Piso.

- 8. S-C- Aesculapius standing facing, holding serpentwreathed wand. C. 265.
- 9. SENATVS PIETATI AVGVSTI S.C. Senate standing l., crowning Emperor, who stands facing, holding Victory and branch. C. 280.
- 10. VICTORIA IMPERI ROMANI S•C• Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm. C. 319.

As° .

- 11. AEQVITAS S.C. Aequitas standing r., holding scales and sceptre. C. 7 (l. in error).
- 12. AEQVITAS AVGVSTI S.C. Aequitas standing l., holding scales and sceptre. C. 9 (r. in error).
- 13. CERES AVGVSTA S•C• Ceres seated I., holding corn-ears and caduceus. C. 16.
- PAXS AVGVSTI S•C• Pax standing I., setting fire to heap of arms. C. 159. [Pl. IX. 7, rev.]
- 15. PROVIDENT. S.C. Altar. C. 162.
- S•C• Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm. C. 264.
- S•C• Eagle between standards, all three set on prows.
 C. 268 ff.
- 18. SALVS AVGVSTI S.C. Salus standing r., leaning on cippus and feeding snake. C. 230 ff.
- 19. SECVRITAS P. ROMANI S.C. Securitas seated I.; in front, altar and torch. C. 278 ff.

The reverses show very little connexion with the rest of Galba's coinage (but cp. rev. S.C., Victory (16) with sestertius of Galba, C. 255 ff., and rev. S.C., Eagle and standards on prow (17) with as of Galba, C. 267). Many of the types cannot be paralleled anywhere in the coinage of the period—e.g. "Adlocutio

⁹ It is possible that the dupondius was also struck, e.g. with rev. SECVRITAS P•ROMANI S•C•

S.C.", "Hispania Clunia Sul. S.C.", "Pietas Augusti S.C.", "S.C., Aesculapius", "Senatus Pietati Augusti S.C.", "Victoria Imperi Romani S.C.". Many others find their parallels, not in the coinage of Galba himself, but in that of his successors:

- "Honos et Virtus S-C : cp. Vitellius (C. 38), Vespasian (C. 202).
- "Libertas Restituta S.C.: cp. Vespasian (C. 262). [Pl. IX. 11, rev.]
- "Mars Victor S.C.: cp. Vespasian (C. 269). Vitellius uses the same legend, with another variety of type (C. 58).
- "Roma Resti, S.C.": cp. type of Vitellius (VRBEM REST(ITVIT) S.C. F. A. Walters Coll.).
- "Senatus Pietati Augusti S.C.": the type is the same as that of Vespasian of the year A.D. 71, with rev. CONCORDIA SENATVI S.C.
- "Aequitas Augusti S.C.": cp. Vitellius (C. 1) and Vespasian (C. 13): cp. Otho (C. 9).
- "Ceres Augusta S.C.": cp. Vitellius (C. 5).
- "Paxs Augusti S.C.": cp. Vitellius (C. 70).
- "Provident S.C.": cp. Vitellius (C. 73) and Vespasian (C. 396).
- "Salus Augusti S.C.": cp. Vespasian (C. 439).
- "Securitas P. Romani S·C·": cp. "Autonomous" (C. Galba, Suppl. 403), Otho (C. 22), Vitellius (C. 83), Vespasian (C. 506).

A close study of these relationships of reverses in itself is almost decisive in favour of a date after A.D. 69.

The rev. legend "Victoria Imperi Romani S.C." gives us the definite indication we require. There is one occasion in this period and only one, to

which it is really applicable,—to the suppression of the revolt of Civilis and the "imperium Galliarum" in A.D. 70 by Vespasian. Let us see if these issues of Galba fit the context thus suggested; if they do, we may consider our thesis proved.

The suppression of the revolt marked the end of a vital peril to the Roman Empire, which, shaken by civil wars, was in no state to withstand further violent shocks. The crisis, though acute, was soon over, thanks to the vigorous policy of Vespasian. But Vespasian himself was fully alive to its gravity and treated it with the deepest seriousness; he reorganized the system under which "auxilia" were employed in the Roman army and showed himself merciless to the Gallic ringleaders. In positive ways as well as in negative he showed a deep concern to repair the injuries suffered. The year A.D. 71 is signalized by a large and fine issue of aes from the mints of Rome and Lugdunum, distinguished by a variety of fine portraits and a series of reverses well chosen to enforce the moral, that the civil and foreign wars were at an end and that Rome stood more secure than ever before (cp. rev. FIDES EXERCITVVM S.C.; IVDAEA CAPTA S-C+; SIGNIS RECEPTIS S-C+; SPES AVGVSTA S-C-; ROMA S-C-,—the seven hills type—and others, some of which have been quoted above). But why should Vespasian associate Galba with himself in this triumph? That he was in general well disposed towards him will be readily admitted; but fortunately we can suggest a stronger motive than this theoretical approval. The Galban faction in Gaul had been suspected, with what justice we cannot say, of complicity in secret nationalist designs, harboured by

Vindex. The legions of Germany under Verginius Rufus had certainly claimed credit for its suppression and had posed as the true Romans against the unreliable provincials-Spaniards and Gauls. Yet these same legions, after imposing the Emperor of their choice on the Roman world and finding that the general will demanded another man, had, in the closing stages of the struggle, actually committed the grossest act of treason, by surrendering their arms to Civilis's rebels and swearing allegiance to the "imperium Galliarum". The Vitellian faction in Gaul, baulked of its hopes, had in fact betrayed the Empire. And at the crisis of the struggle. South Gaul -the Galban faction - had stood like a rock for Rome. This act of splendid loyalty atoned for any doubtful suspicions of the past.10 It called loudly for some reward: and that the reward was not withheld this splendid series of coins of Galba proves. Vespasian recognizes the claims of the Galban faction and honours it in honouring the memory of its leader, who, after all, had taken a leading part in the first act of that drama-the fall of Nero-which culminated in the accession of Vespasian to power. Galba's career is traced from the beginning; we see him haranguing his troops, when about to take the field ("Adlocutio S.C."); we are reminded of the oracles at Clunia that predicted his elevation ("Hispania Clunia Sul. S.C."). His triumph is characterized by the military types ("Honos et Virtus S.C.", "Mars Victor S.C."), while its results are shown in the restoration of Rome and

¹⁰ Cp. Tac. *Hist.* iv. 69 ff. Tacitus, curiously enough, shows little appreciation of this loyalty and comes near scoffing at the loyalists.

of Liberty ("Libertas Restituta S.C.", "Roma Resti. S.C."). The "Aesculapius" reverse has probably a local Gallic reference. 11 The special reference of "Victoria Imperi Romani S·C·' has already been discussed. Other reverses have a general application and are proper to Vespasian rather than Galba (cp. "Aequitas S.C.", "Aequitas Augusti S.C.", "Ceres Augusta S.C.", "Paxs Augusti S.C."). The altar rev. ("Provident."), first used for Divus Augustus and revived by Vitellius and Vespasian, was specially popular in Gaul.12 The eagle and standards on prows are appropriate to Vespasian rather than to Galba, who had little to do with operations at sea. Two reverses ("Pietas Augusti S.C.", "Senatus Pietati Augusti S.C.") have hitherto puzzled commentators; that "Pietas" here has the meaning of "loyalty" or dutifulness in personal relationship is clearly indicated by the Aeneas group on the altar and, in this meaning, has no special reference to Galba.13 But, if we place this issue in A.D. 71, we are at liberty to apply "Augustus" on the reverse to Vespasian, not Galba, and at once a full and satisfactory meaning is obtained. Vespasian shows conspicuous "piety" in honouring the memory of his predecessor, who might be considered in the

¹¹ Cp. rec. of denarius of Albinus with legend COS-II: the coin was struck in Rome, but Albinus at the time had close Gallic connexions.

¹² Perhaps, as the Rev. E. A. Sydenham suggests, this altar of "Divus Augustus" replaced the altar of "Roma and Augustus" on the coins.

¹⁸ Galba's "pietas" in honouring Livia who befriended him in youth is the best that can be suggested. Dodd (in Num. Chron. 1911, pp. 25 ff.), writing on the cognomen "Pius", is at a loss to explain the type; he admits by implication that the reference should be personal.

light of a father by adoption ¹⁴, and for this "piety" the Senate honours him. ¹⁵ The fact that Vespasian uses the same type with legend CONCORDIA SENATVI S-C- brings the coin of Galba into an intimate connexion with himself, which is inexplicable except on some hypothesis like ours.

The question of the mintage of this aes series is not quite easy to settle. The portrait with globe is of Lugdunum style, those with aegis and paludamentum rather of Roman. As the issue was a special one it is probable that special efforts were made by the whole mint, both at Rome and Lugdunum, and that artists who ordinarily designed for gold and silver 16 produced dies for the aes; the striking too was probably distributed over the two mints, but the coins were undoubtedly designed mainly for circulation in the Western provinces. 17

The evidence already submitted receives strong support from the history of the Lugdunum mint.

Lugdunum ceased to strike the imperial gold and silver in the reign of Caligula. It probably struck denarii for Nero of the *rev*. type, Eagle and standards, when besieged by the insurgents under Vindex in

¹⁴ It is sufficient to mention the examples of Nerva and Trajan, Trajan and Hadrian.

¹⁶ It is curious that Tacitus has so little enthusiasm for an Emperor who had enjoyed the support of his own class; we wonder how Nerva would have fared at his hands, had he lived in the safe past and been fair game for his shafts. At any rate we have clear evidence to the effect that the verdict on Galba after his death was far more favourable than that of Tacitus a generation later.

¹⁶ Gold and silver of A.D. 71 are not plentiful.

¹⁷ The great importance of Lugdunum as a mint under Vespasian was due to the war on the frontier and the subsequent need for propaganda to re-establish Roman prestige.

A.D. 68: it certainly struck aurei and denarii for Galba, Vitellius, and Vespasian. A branch mint for the issue of aes was opened in Lugdunum in A.D. 64 and struck till A.D. 66: it struck the coins of Galba described above, rare dupondii and asses of Vitellius and plentiful issues for Vespasian from A.D. 71—rare before that date. The relation of these two mints to one another is not known in detail but was probably much the same as that of the imperial and senatorial mints of Rome. 19

The issues of Galba have up to now given rise to great difficulties for (a) they have only a slight connexion with his general coinage and are hard to place chronologically. Lugdunum was loyal to Nero to the end and was punished by Galba in consequence ²⁰; a closure of the mint is rather what we should expect, especially as we find large Gallic issues of Galba, which are certainly of another mintage; ²¹ (b) Vitellius's issues of gold and silver of Lugdunum, his first capital, are small compared to those of Tarraco and omit some of his main types. ²² In view of the importance of Lugdunum under Vespasian this in itself arouses

¹⁸ For these mint attributions cp. my article in *Num. Chron.*, 1914, pp. 110 ff., "Coinages of the Civil Wars of A.D. 68-69". They are as probable as such attributions can well be, but the evidence cannot be compressed into a few lines.

¹⁹ The mint for aes worked in close union with the Roman; the mint for gold and silver is more independent.

²⁰ Tac. *Hist.* i. 65 "et Galba reditus Lugdunensium occasione irae in fiscum verterat".

²¹ Of Narbo?

²² Notably a type like "Liberi Imp. Germanici". As it was at Lugdunum that Vitellius invested his little son with the title of Germanicus it is hard to account for the absence of this particular type from the mint.

surprise. Vitellius's issues of aes are scanty and belong entirely to the end of his reign; if Lugdunum was striking aes at his accession, this is almost inexplicable.

Both these difficulties disappear if we can transfer Galba's coinage to a later date. The mint of Lugdunum would thus be closed under Galba: Vitellius would have to reorganize it and, while doing so, would rely largely on Tarraco, which had been raised to importance by Galba.

Here these notes must close. It is hoped that the solutions offered will prove satisfactory; they have only been reached after long consideration and I have tried throughout to find the right keys, not to force the locks. It will be enough if I have imparted my own conviction that behind these locks there are still "arcana imperii" awaiting discovery.

H. MATTINGLY.

INDIAN COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

(Continued from Num. Chron., Ser. V, i, p. 348.)

(SEE PLATE VIII.)

Ghiyath al-Din Tughlak, A. D. 1310-1324.

Obv. and Rev. as B.M.C., No. 238 (I.M.C., No. 274, Thomas, No. 159), but margin:

ضرب هذا السكة بقلعة ديوگير سنه احد . . . سبعمايه Deogir, 7(2)1 A. H. A 1.1. Wt. 169.5.

A gold coin of this mint appears to be new. The silver is known from several specimens all of the year 721.

Obv. and Rev. as B.M.C. No. 242 but with Rev. marginal legend:

... ضرب هذا السكة في ملك تلنك سنة اربع ... Mulk-i Telang, (72)4 A.H. A 1.0. Wt. 170.5.

This fine specimen of a rare coin is from the Whitehead collection and shows that B.M.C. No. 242 is from this mint.

Obv. and Rev. as B.M.C., No. 238, but margin: بدار الأسلام في سنة اربع و

Dar al-Islam, [72]4 A.H. R 1.1. Wt. 168.8.

This mint, very rare for this reign, is also represented in the Museum by Catalogue No. 244 of 721 A.H., wrongly attributed to Delhi.

 Obv.
 Rev.

 ابو (المظفر)
 السعيد الشهيد

 تغلق شاء السلطان
 الغازى غياث الد

 (انار) الله برهانه
 نياو الدين

 vr[-].
 Bill. 6.
 Wt. 52.

This remarkable coin is probably a memorial issue, but the exact date is illegible. The piece which is billon and not 'pure silver' is Thomas's No. 178 a, and B.M.C., No. 248, and is worthy of greater prominence than is given it in either of these works.

Before leaving Tughlak it may be mentioned that the B.M. possesses from the Cunningham collection a specimen of the year 727 of the memorial coin issued in Muḥammad's reign (B.M.C. No. 241, which is of Daulatābād and not Delhi; Thomas, No. 158; B.M.C., No. 380). The date 726 is well known, but I have not seen another of 727 A.H.

Muḥammad b. Tughlak, A.D. 1324-1351.

The series of gold coins of this ruler has received many additions since the publication of the B.M. Catalogue.

Of B.M.C., No. 260 (Thomas, No. 171), it now has a specimen of the year 737 of Delhi. At .9. Wt. 197.8.

The rare mint of Sultanpur is now represented by a specimen from the Cunningham collection.

 $\mathit{Obv}.$ and $\mathit{Rev}.$ as B.M.C., No. 260 (Thomas, No. 171), but margin :

ضرب هذا الدينار سلطانپورسنة ثمان و عشرين و سبعما . . Sultanpur, 728 A.H. AV .75. Wt. 198.3. Thomas only knew his No. 172 from the unique specimen in the Guthrie collection (Dār al-Islām, 727 A.H.). The Museum now has the following specimens:

Obv. and Rev. as Thomas, No. 172 (I.M.C., No. 301), and B.M.C., No. 274, in silver, but margins:

ضرب هذا السكة بدار الاسلام في سنه ست و عشرين و سبعماية Dar al-Islam, 726 A.H. AV -85. Wt. 169-5 (Grant).

سنة سبع similar but

Dar al-Islam, 727 A.H. A · 9. Wt. 169 (Bleazby).

ضرب هذا السكة بحضرة دهلي في سنة خمس و عشرين و سبعماية Delhi, 725 A.H. A 1.0. Wt. 163 (Cunningham).

Thomas, No. 173 was only represented in the B.M.C. by No. 264 of Delhi 727 A.H., but it now has the following coins of this type in gold:

Obv. margin:

هذا الدينار في قبة الاسلام اعنى حضرة ديوكير ٧٢٧ Deogir, 727 A.H. AV ·7. Wt. 197.8 (Bleazby).

ودا السكة في قبة الاسلام اعنى دار الملك دولت اباد ٧٢٨ مدا السكة في قبة الاسلام اعنى دار الملك دولت اباد Daulatābād, 728 م. н. ك 4.7. Wt. 141.4 (Cunningham).

۷۳. السكة في قبة الاسلام اعنى حضرة دولت اباد .۷۳.
 Daulatābād, 730 A. H. A ·7. Wt. 141·4 (Bleazby).

مدا السكة دار الملك سلطانپور ۲۲۹ Sultanpur, 729 A. H. AV ·75. Wt. 142 (Cunningham).

Among additions of type B.M.C., No. 265 (Thomas, No. 179) the Museum has acquired from the Cunningham collection a gold coin of the early date 728 A.H. (A⁷·75, Wt. 197·4) and another of the late date 739 (Wt. 169·1) the latter the gift of S. E. Pears, Esq., I.C.S.

Of B.M.C., No. 276 (Thomas, No. 176) the Museum now

has a coin of Delhi of 736 A.H. (A 75, Wt. 169.5) and a rarer coin of Dar al-Islam, 737 A.H., margin:

A curious mule (cf. Rodgers, J.A.S.B., 1894, Pl. v. 22) has the obverse of the last-mentioned type with a double circle and the reverse of B.M.C., No. 228 struck in name of al-Mustakfi. A. 9. Wt. 172-8.

The additions of the type struck in the name of al-Mustakfī are three, all of al-Delhi mints الدهلي dated 742, 743, and 744 A.H.

Of the coins struck in the name of al-Ḥākim the following seems to be new in gold:

The British Museum acquired from Mr. Alex. Grant in 1885 a specimen of the rare half dinar (I.M.C., No. 314, Pl. v).

In silver the Museum has not many additions, but the following may be noted:

Där al-Islām, 725 a. H. A. 1.1. Delhi, 725 a. H. A. 1.0. Lakhnautī, 727 a. H. A. 1.05.

727а.н. $\Re 1.0$, but rev. in squares. [Pl. VIII. 2.]

Lakhnautī, 730 A. H.

73x A. H. AR ·9.

Sätgaon, 729 A.H. Al 1.0.

The workmanship of a silver coin of type Thomas, No. 173, recalls that of the gold coins.

هذا العدى بحضرة دهلي في سنه سبع و عشرين و سبعمايه : Margin Delhi, 727 A.H. - R. · 7. Wt. 140-6. [Pl. VIII. 3.]

Margin: بحضرة دهلى سنة اثنان و ثلثين و سبعماية.

Delhi, 732 A.H. .R ·8. Wt. 161·3 (worn) (Whitehead).

Similar:

Delhi, 732 A.H. Bill. 8. Wt. 170.2. (Cunningham.) This type (Thomas, No. 176) has long been known in gold, but is new in silver and billon.

This coin, I.M.C., No. 343 (Pl. v) was unrepresented in the B.M. until the acquisition of the specimen from the Bleazby collection.

In the forced currency of tankas of the type of Thomas No. 195, B.M.C., No. 330, a number of mints are now represented in the Museum, namely Delhi, Takhtgāh Delhi, Iklīm Lakhnautī, Dār al-Dāhār, Dār al-Islām, Iklīm Tughlakpūr, Tirhut 'Arsa, Sātgaon, Takhtgāh Daulatābād.

The *Do Kāni*, Thomas, No. 206 (I.M.C., No. 403) was unrepresented in the catalogue. The Museum now has two specimens.

Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mahmūd, A.D. 1351.

The gold coins of this brief reign might also be now described as common. The following silver piece appears to be unique:

Obv. and Rev. as B.M.C., No. 342 (I.M.C., Nos. 405-6). Date ver.

752 A.H. R.9. Wt. 169.4 (Cunningham).

The Whitehead collection contains a unique billon coin of this reign.

In double circle

السلطان شاه الأعظم غياث الدنيا محمود والدين

Around . . . دهلي . . .

 $F\bar{\imath}r\bar{u}z$ $\underline{Sh}\bar{a}h$, a.d. 1351-85.

Cf. Thomas, No. 223 (B.M.C., No. 343), the Museum now has a very fine specimen from the Cunningham collection showing that the inscriptions on both sides are enclosed in an octofoil within a double circle.

A ·9. Wt. 169·2.

From the same source a very fine specimen of

Thomas, No. 226 of the year 785 was obtained. Margin:

Thomas, No. 227 (B.M.C., No. 348) is now represented by the date 789 also.

The most notable acquisition among Fīrūz's billon coins is the following:

Sähatsind. Bill. 65. Wt. 130. [Pl. VIII, 5.]

Fīrūz Shāh and Fath Khān.

The Museum now has two specimens of Thomas No. 240, which was once unique, both Iklīm al-Shark, 761 A.H.

في زمان الامام	شاھ
	فتحخان في
	جل الله ظا
	جلاله

The Cunningham collection contained the remarkable coin published by Rodgers, J.A.S.B., 1886, p. 186, no. 3.

A .75. Wt. 170. [Pl. VIII. 6.]

The title حبيب الشرق و الغرب 'beloved of east and west' is new to this series, and may be compared with امير الشرق.

Fīrūz Shāh Zafar, A.D. 1388.

Thomas only knew the gold coinage of this brief reign from the unique Guthrie specimen (No. 245).

A fine specimen from the Cunningham collection gives the date 791.

 سلطان الاعظم
 في زمن الأمام

 فيروز شاة ظفر
 امير المومنين

 ابن فيروز شاة
 ابو عبد الله

 السلطاني
 خلات خلافتة

There is nothing in the legend of this coin to justify Thomas's view that it is a joint coin of Fīrūz Shāh with his son Zafar. It is issued by Fīrūz Shāh Zafar, son of Fīrūz, who apparently reigned between Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughlak II of whom the Museum has a similar gold coin of the Delhi, 791 A.H., and Abū Bakr whose coins run from 791 to 793.

	شاه
الله	فيروز
عبد	ظفر بن
ابد	فيروز شاه

دار الملك شاه فيروز دهلي فيروز ظفر سلطاني ظفر سلطاني Delhi. Æ ·55. Wt. 67 (Whitehead).

Ghiyath al-Din Tughlak, A.D. 1388.

In addition to the following gold coin already mentioned

 Obv.
 Rev.

 As preceding coin.
 السلطان الأعظم

 غياث الدين
 تغلق شاه

 السلطاني
 السلطاني

the Museum has now two specimens of the billon coin described by Rodgers as unique in Lahore Museum Catalogue, p. 102.

 تغلق شا
 لخايفة

 سلطاني
 ابو عبد الله

 خلد ملكه
 خلدت خلافته

Bill. ·58. Wt. 54·5. Bill. ·5. Wt. 46·0.

Abū Bakr Shāh b. Zafar, A.D. 1388-1389.

The Museum now has three specimens of the gold of this king.

Obv. As gold coin of Fīrūz <u>Sh</u>āh Zafar.

السلطان الاعظم ابو بكر شاه بن ظفر بن فيروز شاه السلطاني

Rev.

Obv. margin (from 3 specimens) مربت هذه السكة $A \cdot 8$.

Muḥammad b. Fīrūz, A.D. 1389-1392.

The Cunningham collection contained a fine specimen of Thomas, No. 263.

السلطان الاعظم في زمن الأمام محمد شاة فيروز شاة · امير المومنين الساطاني خلدت خلاقتة مماكنته ٠٩٣٠

A' ·85. Wt. 169.9.

Silver again became commoner in his reign and the Museum has the following dates of No. 421 (Thomas, No. 264):

717 (sic), 793, 818, 823, 834.

Delhi, 790 A. H. Æ ·6. Wt. 106 (Whitehead).

Mahmūd Shāh b. Muhammad Shāh, A.D. 1392-1412.

The Museum now has two gold coins in addition to that in the Catalogue (No. 431). They are all of the same type and dated 79x and 805 A.H.

Saiyid dynasty.

The silver coinage of Mu'izz al-Din Mubārak is now represented in the Museum by the years 835 and 837 (Thomas, No. 287); the gold of Muhammad Shāh b. Farid by the year 841 (Thomas, No. 291) and his silver by the years 839, 841, 847, 848.

Sher Shah, A.D. 1541-1545.

The Museum now has a very extensive series of coins of Sher Shah. Among recent acquisitions we may note the following:-

لا اله الا الله In circle لا اله محمد رسول الله ابا بكر الصديق Around عمر الفاروق المرتضى

الله الرحمين المتوكلر علم In circle ابو المظفر سلطان شير شاه

अ सेर साह below

Around فريد الدنيا و الدين [-٩٤] شير كره

Shergarh, 950 A.H. At 1.2. Wt. 165.6. [Pl. VIII. 7.]

لا اله الا الله In circle

محمد رسول الله

ابو بكر الضديق عمر Around (بن)خطاب عثمان الفاروق على المرتضى السلطان العادل

Chunar, 949 A.H. R 1.1. Wt. 172.2. [Pl. VIII. 8.]

شير شاء السلطان In circle

خلد الله ملكة وسلطانة

Around ضرب چنار Below श्री सेर साह १۴٩ Top (reading from outside)

فريد الدنيا و الدين ٠٠

Kalima in square. Imams around.

In square السلطان

شير شاه

خلد الله ملكة

श्री सेर साह

ضرب رنتهبهور Below

Ranthambhor. At 1.1. Wt. 171.7. [Pl. VIII. 9.]

Obv.

Rev.

سشلطان B.M.C., No. 567 (Thomas, In square No. 356). شير

خلد الله

ضرب چنار On r.

Chunār. Æ .9. Wt. 317. [Pl. VIII. 12.]

Obv.

Rev.

B. M.C., No. 560 (Thomas, No. 355).

ابو (المظفر) شير شا سلطان ضرب خلد الله

لكهنو ملكه

Lucknow. Æ 9. Wt. 318. [Pl. VIII. 13.]

في عهد الأدير

سلطان شير شاه

in circle لحام

in circle ضرب شیر کده

Around . . 981 . .

Shergarh. Æ ·5. Wt. 30·2. [Pl. VIII. 11.]

Islām Shāh, A.D. 1545-1552.

B.M.C., No. 621 (Thomas, No. 363).

98-

[ابو المظفر]

اسلام شاه سلطان

بن شير شاه

خلد الله ملكة

ضرب ابو

Abū, 95 -. Æ 1·0. Wt. 315. [Pl. VIII. 15.]

Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, A.D. 1552-1556.

Kalima in square.

سلطان

محمد شاه غاز

in square خلد الله ملكه

Below सी महमदस . .

864 A.H. AR ·75. Wt. 77. [Pl. VIII. 14.]

This half-rupee which came from Sir Thomas Dennehy's collection seems to be unique.

Ibrāhīm Shāh Sūrī, A.D. 1554.

ابراهيم شاه غازى

خلد الله ماكم

سلطان

و سلطانه

ادو المظفر سيد

و اعلى امرة و شانة

Around

ابو بكر عمر عثمان على

944

AR 1.1. Wt. 177.4. [Pl. VIII. 17.]

ابراهيم غازى

خلد الله ملكة

سلطان

و سلطانه

ابو المظفر سيد

و اعلى امرة و شانه

94-

962 A. H. R. 85. Wt. 88.2.

Æ .9. Wt. 30.9.

Æ·7. Wt. 157.7. [Pl. VIII. 18.]

These four fine coins are all from the Bleazby collection, previous to its acquisition Ibrāhīm Shāh was unrepresented in the B.M.

Sikandar Shāh Sūri, A.D. 1554.

Kalima in square.	سلطان سكندر
at top على المرتضى	اسماعيل سور
. ، ابو بکر on r.	977 in square
Others off flan.	below ضرب لأهور
	on r. خلد الله مأكد

Æ 1·1. Wt. 160·8. [Pl. VIII. 18.]

J. ALLAN.

ANGLO-SAXON ACQUISITIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THRYMSA AND SCEATTA SERIES; MERCIA.

[SEE PLATE X.]

THE first volume of the Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum (Anglo-Saxon Series) was published in 1887, and was followed by a second volume in 1893. Since the publication of these two volumes the collection has been increased by a very large number of coins, many of which, notably the find presented by Sir A. W. Franks (Num. Chron., 1894, p. 29), have materially increased our knowledge of the coinages of the Anglo-Saxon period. It has been suggested that a notice in the Chronicle of coins acquired by the British Museum since the publication of the Catalogue would be of service to members, and I therefore propose to publish them with a brief description, and with any reference that will suffice to identify them, and to indicate their position in relation to the catalogued coins.

THRYMSA SERIES.

Cf. B.M.C., p. 2, type 3. (Bust r., diademed; cross on steps.)

1. Obv.—Blundered legend CHNO · · · ?

Rev.—Runic legend +TIM(or D?) V(?) BENV(?)

A 19.5 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, part I, lot 150.

[Pl. X. 1.]

- 2. Obv.—Bust r. wearing radiate crown, cross potent in field to r. No legend.
 - Rev.—Clasped hands; above, NIG; below, W or A inverted.

N 19.2 grs. Purchased 1903. [Pl. X. 2.]

The type is presumably taken from a Roman original, perhaps from third-century silver, or from the CONCORDIA MILITVM silver or bronze of Carausius; the use of this type on Roman gold does not seem to be later than Vitellius.

- 3. Obv.—Very degraded bust to r. Inscription illegible.
 - Rev.—Rude figure standing facing, arms extended, small branch (?) each side in field. OHV ---?

A 20 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, part I, lot 149. [Pl. X. 3.]

- 4. Obv.—Cross (within a quatrefoil?) with uncertain ornaments in each angle.
 - Rev.—Cross within a quatrefoil, letter in each angle (possibly LVXX?).

N 19 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, part I, lot 151. [Pl. X. 4.]

- 5. Obv.—Circle containing stem with four leaves. +IIVL(?)
 - Rev.—Small cross. Uncertain inscription (CIVEI COIIIT? retrograde).

W 17.2 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, part I, lot 152 (illustrated). [Pl. X. 5.]

- 6. Obv.—Bust r., right hand extended holding cross in front of face. No legend.
 - Rev.—Standard (?) within double border of dots. Traces of inscription.

Electrum, 18 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, part I, let 148. The object on the reverse of this coin is uncertain.

[Pl. X. 6.]

It is doubtful whether the last four coins should be assigned to the Merovingian or Anglo-Saxon series; no record remains of their provenance.

SCEAT SERIES.

Cf. B.M.C., p. 5, Nos. 33-41.

7. Obv.—Bust r. Runic legend (EP[A]) before face.

Rev.—Cross set diagonally within a double square, three pellets in each angle.

A 14.2 grs. Rev. J. C. Clark sale, 1911, lot 70. [Pl. X. 7.]

Cf. B.M.C., p. 5, Nos. 42-48.

8. Obv.—Bust r. radiate. Runic legend (APA) before face.

Rer.—Cross with pellet in each angle, letters (VTVA visible) forming square pattern framing the design.

All 11.5 grs. Purchased 1892.

Similar, with new Runic inscription.

Obv.—Bust r. Runic legend (WIGRADV?) before face.
 M behind head. Annulets to l. and r. above head and above shoulder.

Rev.—Square of dotted lines containing O between I, I, V, V. Crosses and pellets alternating in field.

AR (base) 12 grs. Carlyon-Britton sale, 1914, lot 145. [Pl. X. 8.]

As preceding with V in place of M behind head.
 R (base) 12 grs. Ibid.

As preceding but Runic legend WIGRD
 R (base) 14 grs. Ibid., illustrated.

Cf. B.M.C., p. 19, No. 170, and p. 21, No. 191.

12. Obv.—As B.M.C., p. 21, No. 191. A whorl of three wolves' heads.

Rev.—As B.M.C., p. 19, No. 170. Celtic cross with boss surrounded by pellets in each angle and plain boss in centre.

At 17.7 grs. Purchased 1921. [Pl. X. 9.]

This piece forms a link between the fantastic bird and the whorl of three animal heads, and between the Celtic cross and the shield. The Celtic cross is connected with the bust-sceptre type in B.M.C., No. 161.

MERCIA.

Triens of Peada (?) of new type.

13. Obv.—Bust r. diademed. ITIIC

Rev.—Circle of pellets containing Runic inscription (PADA) with three pellets shaped like corngrains above the letters. Around letters of which MIZ---TM visible.

Electrum, 17 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, part I, lot 172 (illustrated).

OFFA.

14. Gold Dinar, bearing inscription OFFA REX

N 66 grs. Carlyon-Britton sale, 1913, lot 269 (illustrated).

This coin is fully described and illustrated in *Brit*. *Num. Jour.*, vol. v, pp. 55 ff, and *Num. Chron.*, 1914. pp. 77 ff.

Pennies with king's head or bust.

Alhmund. Type similar to B.M.C., Pl. V. 1.

15. Obv.—Bust r. with jewel suspended on neck; inscription round, from shoulder to shoulder, +O·F·F·A.
R:E·X+.

Rev.—Wreath terminating in serpent-heads; within, in two lines: ALHM・比ND pellets below inscription grouped 4 and 1.

At 19-1 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 193, illustrated, and in *Num. Chron.*, 1920, Pl. VII. 14.

- Alred. Type similar to B.M.C., Pl. V. 3.
- 16. Obv.—Bust r. robed and diademed; to r. of head,
 - Rev.—△L· R· E· ð: on four limbs of Celtic cross, on which is superimposed a fleury cross voided in lozenge shape, and containing small cross pattée in centre.

At 15 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 181; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. VIII. 12.

This coin, which is ascribed by Mr. Lockett to the Jaenberht group, has the "stalk and pellets" ornament in profusion on the reverse, in each angle of the central cross, and in each outer foil of the fleurs of the cross fleury.

Ciolhard. Type similar to B.M.C., Pl. V. 5.

- 17. Obv.—Bust r. robed; beaded inner circle from shoulder to shoulder, around which +O.F.FA...R.E.X.+.
 - Rev.—Serpent coiled between the two lines of inscription $+ : \Box \land \Box \land \Box \land \Box \land \Box \land \Box$

R 18.5 grs. Evans coll., found in Austria; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. VI. 13.

- Dud. Type similar to B.M.C., Pl. V. 6.
- 18. Obv.—Bust r. undraped with branch to r. of bust; beaded inner circle from shoulder to shoulder, around which +OFF⊼R€X+, pellets profusely in letters.
 - Rev.—Cross pattée within small inner circle; around + o v o divided by four double lobes. "Stalk and pellets" ornament in each angle of central cross and in each lobe; pellets profusely.

At 17.2 grs. Evans coll., found at Northborne; illustrated in *Num. Chron.*, 1920, Pl. VII. 3.

Ealmund. Type similar to B.M.C., Pl. V. 8.

 Obv.—Bust r. draped, hair plaited in six knots; to r. of head ·O·FFA, to l. five pellets in form of cross.

Rev.—Cross crosslet voided lozengewise to enclose cross pattée \in AL MV No; pellets profusely.

R 194 grs. Evans coll.; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. VIII. 3.

Eoba. Ruding, Pl. IV, fig. 14, is from this coin.

20. Obv.—Bust r. draped and diademed; to r. of head E♦BA, trefoil of pellets before first and either side of third letter.

Rev.—Double cross containing beaded cross, each limb extended by forked end to edge of coin, dividing the legend +O FF AR EX, a pellet in each angle and in each terminal fork of the cross.

AR 19 grs. Evans coll.; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. VIII. 15.

Ibba. Type similar to B.M.C., Pl. V. 13.

21. Obv.—Bust r. draped, hair tied close to head with curl escaping above forehead; to r. IBBA, six pellets before first, and three before third letter.

Rev. → ★ E R M with pellets profusely in angles of cross fleury voided in centre to contain cross patté.

At 20 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 187, illustrated, and in *Num. Chron.*, 1920, Pl. X. 6.

Type as B.M.C., Pl. V. 15.

22. Obv.—Bust r. draped and diademed; inscription, in three lines to l. and r. of bust, O F FA R EX, trefoil of pellets before and after first letter, pellet after second and fifth, and above last.

Rev.—+1 ·B· ·B· ·A· in angles of cross fleury as on preceding coin.

At 18.3 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 185; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. X. 11.

Similar to preceding coin.

23. Obv.—OFFAREX downwards to r. of head. Four pellets behind head, and four pellets before inscription.

Rev. -+ 1 B ⋅B ⋅ A.

At 16.3 grs. Evans coll.; illustrated in Num. Chron, 1920, Pl. X. 9.

Lulla. Type as B.M.C., Pl. VI. 3.

- 24. Obv.—Bust r. undraped in square compartment with cross at each angle dividing the inscription OF FA RE XX Rosette of pellets to r. of face; trefoils of pellets and single pellets dividing pairs of letters.
 - Rev.—Quatrefoil ornament within beaded inner circle. Inscription divided by rosettes of pellets +L $\[mu]L$ $\[mu]L$ $\[mu]L$ pellets between letters.

R 17.7 grs. Evans coll.

Pennies without king's head or bust.

Alhmund. Type as B.M.C., Pl. VI. 12.

- 25. Obv. → FAR in angles of cross fleury enclosing in voided centre an annulet; pellets in profusion.
 - Rev.—&LH··MWN· & in three lines with cross above dividing second and third letters. Beaded line across centre with fleury ends extended to embrace the lines of inscription.

A 17 grs. Evans coll., illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. VIII. 6.

26. Similar to preceding coin, but obverse inscription ⋄ F in upper, ℜ M in lower spaces.

At 18.8 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 220; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. VIII. 4.

Babba. Type as Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. VI. 3.

27. Obv.—Cross crosslet, pellet in central compartment, dividing the inscription XO FF AR EX. Plain inner circle.

Rev.—Cross crosslet, rosette in central compartment. dividing the inscription B $\overline{\rm A}$ BB $\overline{\rm A}$

A 15.8 grs. Evans coll.

28. Similar to preceding but on smaller flan, and obv. inscription divided OF F⊼ RE X

At 18.2 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 217. [Pl. X. 10.]

Bahhard. Type as B.M.C., Pl. VI. 16.

- 29. Obv.—Four lobes extending crosswise from angles of quatrefoil, and dividing inscription +◊. FF-ĀR EX A small cross of pellets in each lobe and in each foil.
 - Rev.—+BAH HARD in two lines enclosed in lunettes.

 Across the centre a beaded bar terminating at each end in a cross pattée.

At 19.7 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 200; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. VI. 7.

Botred.

- 30. Obv.—♦FFAREX between two beaded lines across field; floral ornament above and below.
 - Rev.—Inscription in Runic characters BO TR ED about a triangle with fleured angles, four pellets in centre, trefoil of pellets before each pair of letters.

At 14.6 grs.; pierced; purchased 1912; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. VI. 11.

Eoba.

31. Obv.—Square beaded compartment, containing & retrograde, with cross pattée issuing from each angle and dividing inscription O above, F to l., F to r.. A below, pellets in profusion.

Rev.—€ O B য় in foils of quatrefoil with circular centre containing four pellets; wedge between two pellets issuing from junction of each pair of foils.

At 18 grs. Evans coll.; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. IX. 6.

- 32. Obv.—Beaded cross containing five pellets in beaded circle in centre, and with each limb terminating in five pellets. O E in upper, R M in lower angles.
 - Rev.—Cross containing small cross in circle in centre, and with each limb terminating in triangle dividing inscription ∈ O B Ā, pellets profusely.

At 20 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 206; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. IX. 4.

- 33. Obv.—Cross with pellet in centre and pellet in each angle, ⋄ F in upper, ℞ ಭ in lower angles, two trefoils of pellets beside first letter, single pellets profusely.
 - Rev.—Cross containing five pellets in circle in centre, and with each limb terminating in annulet enclosing pellet, in angles ∈ O B Ā, pellet before and after each letter and in centre of O.

At 19 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 216; illustrated, and in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. IX. 3.

Type as B.M.C., Pl. VII 8.

- 34. Obv.—

 → ← FF REX in three lines divided by two beaded lines; pellet in each angle of initial cross and in three angles of X; trefoil of pellets either side of

 , and before last word.
 - Rev.—E♦ BM in two lines divided by ornament of dumb-bell shape, pellets in field.

At 18.9 grs. Evans coll.; found at Richborough; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. IX. 11.

- 35. Obv.—As preceding, omitting pellets about initial cross and X.
 - Rev.—E♦B⊼ between two beaded bars terminating in cross at each end; three crosses below, bifoil ornament above.
 - A 21.6 grs. Presented by Sir A. W. Franks; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1894, Pl. III. 1, and 1920, Pl. IX. 10.
- 36. Obv.—As preceding, single pellet before REX
 - Rev.—E♦BM between two plain lines across field; tribrach between two crosses above and below.
 - A 20 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 213; illustrated in *Num. Chron.*, 1920, Pl. IX. 9.
- 37. Obv.—As preceding.
 - Rev.—E⋄BѪ between two bars terminating at each end in a cross; three semicircles interlaced above, three crosses below.

At 18.8 grs. Ready sale, 1920, lot 29.

Ethelmod.

- - Rev.—+EP:EEL: M♦D in two lines; above, a cross between two brackets; two plain lines divide the inscription.
 - R 20.4 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 209; illustrated in *Num. Chron.*, 1920, Pl. IX, 13.
- 39. Obv.—Similar to preceding, trefoil of pellets either side of $\overline{\mathbb{M}}$, pellet in each angle of initial cross.
 - Rev.—Lunettes enclose cross and pellets above the inscription E⊅:EL⊅: N⋄, and lunette encloses lower line of inscription; two trefoils of pellets in each lunette.
 - A 23.1 grs. Evans coll.; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. IX. 14.

Ethelwald.

40. Obv.—OFF⊼ REX across field divided by beaded bar crosslet.

Rev.—EXEL WALD across field divided by beaded bar crosslet; pellets profusely on both sides.

At 19.1 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 199.

41. A similar coin from different dies.

AR 20.7 grs. Evans coll.; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. X. 4.

Ibba.

42. Obv.—As No. 39 above; no pellets after ◊ of ♦FFA

Rev.—Cross crosslet. + I B B A in angles, pellets profusely in field.

At 20.8 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 194; illustrated, and in *Num. Chron.*, 1920, Pl. X. 13.

Osmod.

43. Obv.— σ within plain inner circle; around +OFFΛ REXME

Rev.—Celtic cross with plain circle in centre containing small cross, OS M O D

R 20.3 grs. (small piece broken off edge). Sotheby, 19-21 Dec., 1911, lot 174; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. XI. 7.

Udd or Dud.?

44. Obv.—Cross botonnée over smaller cross botonnée, in angles :+:♦ F.F. ĀR EX

Rev.—Double cross of four semicircles, in centre annulet enclosing pellet. In angles, + V D D retrograde; trefoils of pellets and single pellets in profusion.

R 19 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 215; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. VII. 5.

The moneyer's name is probably DVD, and perhaps the reverse inscription should be read crosswise, +Q in upper, and V D in the lower angles of the cross.

Wihtred.

- 45. Obv.—+FF Λ+R EX+ about a triangle fleured at the angles, and enclosing pellet and three leaves.
 - Rev.—Cross fleury with small square set in the lozengeshaped voiding, in the angles +> IH +R EG; trefoil of pellets before and after each pair of letters.
 - At 15.4 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 214; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. XII. 2.
- 46. Obv.—Cross, each limb terminating in a rosette, pellet in centre and in each angle, plain inner circle. Inscription round, ♦F FA RE ••ו••
 - Rev. Cross potent, pellet in each angle, plain inner circle, around ▶1 ► RM ⋈ (Wihtred).
 - AR 17-7 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 218; illustrated, and in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. XII. 1.

Wilhun.

- 47. Obv. As No. 42 above, but with additional pellets.
 - Rev.—VVIL HVN in two lines on a shield, across the centre a beaded bar crosslet; pellets about letters of inscription.
 - At 20 grs. Evans coll., found at Eastry, 1831; illustrated in *Num. Chron.*, 1920, Pl. XII. 5.
- 48. A similar coin, but with fewer pellets in both sides.
 - R 22-3 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 195; illustrated in *Num. Chron.*, 1920, Pl. XII. 6.

Wirwald.

- 49. Obv.—Celtic cross dividing the legend OF FA RE X; the limbs of the cross are used as uprights of the second F and R; in centre plain cross enclosing small cross and pellets; a cross fleury is imposed on the limbs of the celtic cross.
 - Rev.—Cross fleury and small cross botonnée, inscription divided ▶ IR VV ⊼ D

At 18.8 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 210; illustrated in *Num. Chron.*, 1920, Pl. XI. 16.

CYNETHRYTH.

Eoba. Type as B.M.C., Pl. VIII. 3.

50. Obv.—Bust r. draped; to r. of head ·E·◇·B·A·

 $Rev.-\overline{\mathbf{m}}$ in beaded inner circle; around, $+\mathbf{LYNE\delta RY}.\delta$ REGIN

At 17 grs. Evans coll.

- 51. Obv.— in beaded inner circle; around, EYNEöR·Y·č·REGIN·Ā·; pellets in field.
 - Rev.—+E ♦ B A on leaves of quatrefoil superimposed on a cross fleury.

R 20 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 228; illustrated (reverse only), and (both sides) in Num. Chron., 1920, Pl. IV. 12.

COENWULF.

Pennies with king's head on bust.

Beomfrith. Type as B.M.C., Pl. VIII. 15.

- 52. Obv.—Bust r. diademed; a second inner circle surrounds head. Inscription beginning at top l., and divided by bust, +COENVVLF REXΥΥ
 - Rev.—Small cross pommée over saltire pattée. +BEORNFRIÐTONETA

A 22 grs. Evans coll. from Delgany find.

Ceolheard.

53. Obv.—Bust r., inner circle from shoulder to shoulder.

Inscription beginning at top I. and divided by bust. +COENVVLF REXT

Rev.—CE-O·L·h·EA·RD (stops wedge-shaped) round a cross crosslet; no inner circle.

R 20·1 grs. Evans coll. from Delgany find. [Pl. X. 11.]

54. Another of similar type but ruder workmanship, reading on reverse + □EOLhEARO with pellets in profusion.

At 21.2 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 230; illustrated.

55. Obv.—Similar to no. 53. + COENVVLF REXT

Rev.—□I♦LhE\Rom\NIT\ round a cross moline; no inner circle.

H 18.5 grs. Evans coll. from Delgany find. [Pl. X. 12.]

Dealla. Type as B.M.C., Pl. VIII. 6.

56-58. Obv.—Bust r., inner circle from shoulder to shoulder.
+COENVVLFREX♥

Rev.—Cross crosslet between four pellets within inner circle from which extend three crosses dividing the inscription, +DEAL LAMO NETA

R 21·4, 19·6 (Ψ for M on rev.), 19·2 grs. All from Sir A. W. Franks gift.

Similar, but without crosses extending from inner circle on reverse.

59. Obv.—As preceding.

Rev. -+ DEALLAMONETX

A 21.6 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.

Diormod. Type in B.M.C., Pl. VIII. 16.

60. Obv.—Bust r. diademed, inner circle from shoulder to shoulder, inscription beginning at top 1. and divided by bust. +□OENVVLF REX™

Rev.—Design like "noughts and crosses" board. +DIORTODTONETA

AR 22 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.

61. Similar, but with obv. inscription running from shoulder to shoulder, and NE in ligature on reverse.

A 19 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.

62-65. Obv. - Similar to No. 61.

Rev.—Four crescents placed back to back, pellet in centre; inner circle +DIORMODMONETA

At between 21 and $21\frac{1}{2}$ grs. All from Sir A. W. Franks gift. [Pl. X. 13.]

Duda. Type similar to B.M.C., Pl. VIII. 17.

66. Obr.—Bust r. diademed; inner circle from shoulder to shoulder; inscription beginning at top l. and divided by bust, +□OENVVLF REX™

Rev.—Quatrefoil, pellet in each leaf and at each cusp; inner circle; +DVDA TONETA

At 18.3 grs. Evans coll. from Montagu sale, 1897, Pl. V, lot 1.

67. Similar to preceding, and from same obverse die.

AR 20.5 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1894, Pl. III. 3.

Dunn.

68. Olv.—Bust r. diademed, inner circle from shoulder to shoulder; inscription, beginning at shoulder, +COENVVLFREX™

Rev.—Cross pattée between four crescents, horns outward, a pellet between each pair; inner circle. +D.VNN. P.ONETA.

A 20.3 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.

Ealhstan.

69. Obv.—Bust r. diademed, inner circle and inscription from shoulder to shoulder, +COENVVLF REXT

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Rev.—Cross, each limb terminating in a crescent; +EXLHTXNTONETX

A 19 grs. Evans coll. from Delgany find; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1882, Pl. IV. 8.

- 70. Obv.—Bust r.; inner circle; inscription, beginning above head, +COENV⋅ VLFREX™
 - Rev.—Small cross, pellet in each angle; inner circle; inscription, +EALUVTANTON!

At 18-7 grs. Evans coll. from Delgany find.

- 71. Obv.—Bust r. diademed; inner circle and inscription from shoulder to shoulder, +COENVVLF REXT
 - Rev.—Cross potent containing pellet within square voiding, a pellet in each angle (the pellets are lozenge-shaped); inner circle; +ΕΛLΗΤΛΝ ΤΟΝΕΤΛ

At 21 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 240, illustrated.

On Nos. 69 and 71 a wedge is attached to the letter H of the moneyer's name, as on B.M.C., No. 71, perhaps to indicate HS or HZ in ligature.

Elhun.

- 72. Obv.—Bust r. diademed, the diadem is of fine beaded lines, and seems to terminate in a jewel of rosette shape instead of the usual crescent over the forehead. Inscription, beginning at top and divided by bust, +COENVVL1 REXTO The lettering is unusually small and clumsy.
 - Rev.—Cross crosslet, no inner circle, +.E.L.HV.V:N. stops wedge-shaped.
 - AR 21.5 grs. Evans coll. from Delgany find, illustrated in Num. Chron., 1882, Pl. IV. 7.

Hereberht.

- 73. Obv.—Bust r. diademed, beaded inner circle from shoulder to shoulder; inscription, beginning above head and divided by bust, +COEN VVLF REXT
 - Rev.—Six pellets within a beaded inner circle, +HERE BERHT This coin is of very rude work.

R 19.9 grs. (small piece broken off edge). Evans coll. from Delgany find.

Lul. Type similar to B.M C., Pl. VIII. 9.

- 74. Obv.—Bust r. diademed, inner circle from shoulder to shoulder; inscription, beginning at top and divided by bust, +□OENVVLF BEX₩
 - Rev.—+L V L in leaves of quatrefoil, pellets in cusps, and one in each of three leaves.

Al 18.7 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.

75. Similar, but quatrefoil of beaded lines.

R 20.6 grs. (slightly chipped). Evans coll. from Delgany find.

Oba. Type as B.M.C., Pl. VIII. 11.

76. Obv.—Bust r. diademed &c. as preceding coin, + EOEN VVLF REX $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$

Rev.—Cross moline within inner circle from which issue three crosses dividing the inscription, PATON ETA

R 19.3 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.

Type as B.M.C, No. 78.

77. Obv.—As preceding.

Rev.—As preceding, but cross pommée over saltire pattée in centre. Pellet after moneyer's name and two pellets before Υ

R 18 grs. (chipped). Sir A. W. Franks gift.

Sigeberht.

78. Obv.—Bust r. diademed, inner circle and inscription from shoulder to shoulder, +□◇ENVVLF REX™

Rev.—Trefoil with pointed leaves over trefoil with rounded leaves, annulet and pellet in centre. +SICEBERHTONETA

A 18.5 grs. Purchased 1886.

[Pl. X. 14.]

Sigestef. Type as B.M.C., Pl. VIII. 13. Flan, design and lettering larger.

79. Obv.—As preceding coin, but O for ◊

Rev.—— within inner circle; +SIEESTEFTONET

20.2 grs. (chipped). Evans coll. from
Delgany find.

Swefherd. Type as B.M.C., Pl. VIII. 14.

80. Obv.—As preceding coin.

Rev.—Cross fourchée with pellet in each angle; inner circle; +SVVEFHERDMONETX

R 18.5 grs. (chipped). Evans coll. from Delgany find.

Tidbearht. Type as B.M.C., Pl. VIII. 16.

81. Obv.—As preceding coin, but inscription begins at top and is divided by bust.

Rev.—Design like "noughts and crosses" board, no inner circle; +TIDBEΛRHTMONETA

A 14.8 grs. (chipped). Sir A. W. Franks gift.

82, 83. Obv.—As No. 80.

Rev.—Four crescents set back to back, pellet in centre, +TIDBEARHTMONETX

R 21.4 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.
R 19.8 grs. (chipped). Evans coll. from Delgany find.

83 a. Similar to Num. Chron., 1894, Pl. III. 3.

Obv. - As preceding.

Rev.—Cross pommée; in each angle a crescent turned inwards and a pellet; inner circle; +TIDBER

AR 20.4 grs. Evans coll. found at Mildenhall.

Werheard. Type as B.M.C., Pl. VIII. 15.

84. Obv:-As preceding coin.

Rev.—Cross pommée over saltire pattée ; +VERHEARDI

Al 15 grs. (broken). Sir A. W. Franks gift.

Type as B.M.C., Pl. VIII. 16.

85, 86. Obv.—As preceding, but inscription beginning at top and divided by bust.

Rev.—Design like "noughts and crosses" board, no inner circle, +PERHEARDIMONETA

A 20.5 grs., 19.8 grs. Both from Sir A. W. Franks gift.

87, 88. Similar, but +PERNEARDMONETA

At 21 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift. At 15-8 grs. (chipped). Evans coll. from Delgany find.

89. Similar, but + PERNEARDMONETA

R 18 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.

90. Obv.—As preceding coins, but inscription from shoulder to shoulder.

Rev.—Four crescents set back to back, cross in centre, +PERHEARDMONETX

At 19 grs. (slightly chipped). Sir A. W. Franks gift.

Wihtred.

91. Obv.—As before, inscription beginning at top and divided by bust, the letter R is in ligature with the outline of the bust, but ⋄ for O

Rev.—Cross moline, two pellets in each angle, PIH↑R+ED

R 18.8 grs. (slightly chipped). Montagu sale, 1896, lot 238.

The style of this coin, especially the obverse portrait, is very rude.

92. Obv.—As preceding, but O for ◊

Rev.—Cross moline enclosing four wedges crosswise in square beaded voiding, inscription divided, ↑▷
H ED IR presumably to be read ▶IH↑RED

R 21.8 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift, illustrated in Num. Chron., 1894, Pl. III. 5.

The obverse is similar in style to the preceding coin.

Wodel. Type as B.M.C., Pl. VIII. 19.

93, 94. Obv.—As preceding; the bust is similar in style to that on the Wihtred coins, the letters F and R are in ligature with the outline of the bust;
⋄ for O.

Rev.—Cross crosslet, containing in square voiding five pellets and dividing inscription ▶♦ ১ E L+

At 19.8 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift. At 18.7 grs. Evans coll. from Delgany find.

- 95. Obv.—Of same type, but of normal style, ⋄ for O, four pellets in place of initial cross, and three between L and F
 - Rev.—Beaded cross with annulet terminating each limb, and larger one forming central voiding, pellet in each annulet; inscription divided DΦ δ E Γ pellets inserted.

A 22.2 grs. Evans coll. from Delgany find, illustrated in Num. Chron., 1882, Pl. IV. 9.

96. Obv.—As before, but bust of peculiar rude style, no initial cross, ♦ for O

Rev.—As preceding, but pellets without annulets as terminals of limbs P♦ b E Γ Pellet in centre of cross only.

At 20.9 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 251, illustrated.

Uncertain moneyer.

97. Obv.—As before, peculiar rude work.

Rev.—Cross pommée over saltire pommée; inner circle. +EPTFOTR three, or two, pellets after each letter. Style similar to obverse.

At 20.8 grs. Montagu sale, 1896, lot 235; illustrated.

Pennies without bust or head.

Babba. Type as B.M.C., IX. 2.

98. Obv.—

¬ within inner circle; +· □· ◇ E· NVV L· FR· EX

Rev.—Tribrach moline of two plain lines enclosing one beaded line; inscription divided BN BB -A-pellet in each angle.

A 19.2 grs. Evans coll.

Duda. As preceding, but beaded central line of tribrach omitted.

99. Obv.—+C♦·ENV·VL:FREX

Rev. - D. VD. X

At 21 grs. (chipped). Evans coll. from Delgany find.

Ethelmod. As preceding.

100. Obv.—+ C♦ ENVVL: FREX

Rev.—E EL MOD; no pellets in angles, two under O
R 21.5 grs. Ready sale, 1920, lot 32.

101. Obv.—As preceding, +COENVVLFREX

Rev.—Voided tribrach moline over small trefoil •• € ► EL MOD

R 20.2 grs. Evans coll., probably found in Kent.

Ludoman. As type of B.M.C., Pl. IX. 3.

102. Obv.—•.• TENVVLF R:EX in three lines, divided by two beaded lines, each with two hooks back to back in centre.

Rev.—LVD > TAN (pellets profusely) in two lines, divided by beaded line, upon shield with hooks back to back at top and bottom, pellet in each cusp and each hook.

AR 21.4 grs. Evans coll.

CEOLWULF I.

Pennies with king's bust or head.

Aelhun. Type similar to B.M.C., Pl. IX. 5.

103. Obv.—Bust r.; no inner circle. +□I♦LVVLFREX

Rev.—Cross crosslet; no inner circle. +AELHVN

At 16.7 grs. (slightly chipped). Montagu sale, 1896, lot 260.

Ciolbald. Type as B.M.C., Pl. IX. 5.

104. Obv.—Bust r. +□I♦LVVLFREX

Rev.—Cross crosslet CIOLBALD

AR 21.5 grs. Evans coll. from Delgany find.

Ealhstan. As preceding.

105. Obv.—+CIOLVVLFREXT

Rev.—+EALHTANTONET (HS ligature (?) as on Coenwulf coins).

A 19.6 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.

106. Obv.—As preceding.

Rev.—A in centre, wedge each side, crescent with horns downwards below, +EALHTAN MONET (HZ ligature).

A 21.5 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1894, Pl. III. 7.

Eanwulf.

107. Obv.—As preceding.

AR 20 grs. (chipped). Montagu sale, 1896, lot 259.

108. Obv.—Head r. within the inner circle. +CIOLVVLF REXT beginning at bottom.

Rev. - A in centre. + EANVVLFTONET

A 20 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.

109. Obv.—As preceding coin. +CIOLVVLFRΕΧΦ beginning at top.

Rev.—Four crescents back to back, pellet in centre, +EANVVLFTONETX

At 18.3 grs. Purchased 1909.

[Pl. X. 15.]

Ethelmod.

110. Obv.—Head r. +□IOLVVLFREX To beginning at bottom.

Rev.—承 in centre; +E⇒EL™OD™ONET double-struck.

At 22.1 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.

Hereberht. Type as B.M.C., Pl. IX. 8.

111. Obv.—Bust r. + CEOLVVLF REXT divided by bust.

Rev.—HER EBE+ RHT in three lines, the second and third upside-down, divided by two lines hooked at each end.

At 19.4 grs. (chipped). Sir A. W. Franks gift.

Oba.

112, 113. Similar to preceding, reverse reading +OB A. TON ETM

At 21 grs. Lawrence sale, 1903, lot 9. At 21.5 grs. Evans coll. from Marsham sale, 1888, lot 79.

These two coins are from the same reverse die.

Sigestef.

114. Obv.—Bust r. +ΓΕΟLVVLFREXΦ

Rev.— ♠ in centre. +SICESTEFTONET

At 20.7 grs. (slightly chipped). Evans coll. from Delgany find.

Wodel.

115. Obv.—Bust r. XCEOLV VLFREX™ divided by bust.

Rev.—+POD DELTO NETP in three lines divided by two lines with hook at each end.

A 17.5 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.

Uncertain moneyer, Eadgar? Similar to B.M.C., Pl. IX. 10.

116. Obv.—Bust r. +CEOLVVLF+ RE+T divided by bust.

Rev.—+E♠S G♠Z (or ♠R?) in two lines, the upper retrograde, separated by cross between two bars. Of very rough work.

A 21.2 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.

Uncertain moneyer.

117. Obv.—Bust r. +CE&LVVFREX

Rev.—Cross with annulet at end of each limb, beaded inner circle. +EPTFOTR, pellets, wedge-shaped, profuse in inscription.

At 20.2 grs. Evans coll., illustrated in Num. Chron., 1866, p. 307.

Canterbury (no moneyer's name).

118. Obv.—Head r. +CIOLVVLFREXT

At 20.5 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1894, Pl. III. 6.

Pennies without bust or head.

Canterbury. Ceolhard.

- 119. Obv.—+CIOLVVLFREX·MERCI, in centre cross, to 1. DR in ligature, to r. $\overline{\mathbf{V}}$
 - Rev.—+CEOLMARDMO-N, four crosses with pellet in centre.

A 21.5 grs. Evans coll. from Delgany find; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1882, Pl. IV. 11.

Sigestef (no mint name).

120, 121. Obv.—Cross crosslet. +□IOLVVLFREX T

Rev.—Cross crosslet. +SIGESTEF

AR 20·1 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift. AR 19·9 grs. (slightly chipped). Evans coll. from the Delgany find; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1882, Pl. IV. 10.

BEORNWULF.

Eadgar.

- 122. Obv.—Bust r., inner circle from shoulder to shoulder, +BEORVVLFRE
 - Rev.—EVD 3VR in two lines divided by two lines containing three saltires across field. Very rude work.

AR 19.6 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1894, Pl. III. 8.

Eadnoth.

123. Obv.—Bust r. +BEORHÞVLFRE

Rev.—Cross crosslet. +EXDHOPMOHET

A 20.9 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.
[Pl. X. 16.]

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Euctu?

124. As preceding. +EVESVTOTET♦

At 19.5 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift.

Same moneyer?

125. As preceding, EVC+3M three pellets after each letter.

AR 20-1 grs. Sir A. W. Franks gift; illustrated in Num. Chron., 1894, Pl. III. 9.

Monna.

126. As preceding, +TOHHY pellet after each letter, three pellets after initial cross.

At 18.9 grs. (chipped). Evans coll. from Delgany find.

Werbald. Similar to B.M.C., No. 115.

127. Obv.—Bust r. +BEORHPVLFRE

Rev.—▶ER BALD TOHE in three lines across field, pellet above, three pellets before ▷, three pellets above OH

R 19-5 grs. Evans coll. from Montagu sale, 1895, lot 269 (illustrated).

WIGLAF.

Burgherd.

128. Obv.—Bust r., inscription divided by bust, +VVIGLA FREXT

Rev.—Cross crosslet, no inner circle, pellet in each angle, three pellets below dividing legend.
+BVR9 PERD

21.8 grs.

Oelhun or Oelmun?

129. Obv.—Head r. within inner circle. +VVIGLAEREX™

Rev.—Cross crosslet, no inner circle. +◇ELLHVN

R 22.3 grs.

8

130. Similar, but a cross at the end of each limb of the cross crosslet divides the inscription +♦ EL LH VN

A 21.9 grs.

Redmund. Similar to B.M.C., No. 117.

131. Obv.—Cross with pellet in each angle, beaded inner circle. +VVILLAFR.E.X:T.

Rev.—REDMA across field, h in beaded lunette below, D in beaded lunette above.

A 21.6 grs.

These four coins are all from the Sir A. W. Franks gift; they are all illustrated in *Num. Chron.*, 1894, Pl. III. 10-13.

BERHTWULF.

Burnwald.

132. Obv.—Bust r. BERHTYYLFREX

Rev.—Cross crosslet, annulet in centre, crescent in each angle, inner circle. +BYRNYYXLD

A (base) 16 grs. Rashleigh sale, 1909, lot 62 (illustrated), found near St. Austell.

Eanbald.

133. Obv.-Bust r. BERHTVVLFREX

Rev.—Cross between T and A, annulet below each letter, inner circle. +EXNBXLDTONE

R (base) 14-9 grs., broken. Rashleigh sale, 1909, lot 59 (illustrated), found near St. Austell.

Eana.

134. Obv.—Bust r. BERHTYLFREX

Rev. — Λ in inner circle. $+E\Lambda+H\Lambda+MO$

R 17.7 grs. Evans coll., found at Richborough.

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Osulf. Similar to B.M.C., No. 131.

135. Obv.—Bust r. BERHTVVLFREX

Rev.—Cross crosslet in inner circle. +ΟΖVLFΦΟ
NETA

AR 20.3 grs. Evans coll. from Bergne sale, 1873, lot 71.

BURGRED.

The coins, unless otherwise mentioned, are of the usual type (B.M.C., Pl. X. 9), and have the obverse inscription BVRGREDREX.

Berheah.

136. +BERHEA ·HMON· ·ETA· (obv. BVRGREDREXX)

#R 17.2 grs. Evans coll., from Croydon find 1862.

Burghelm

137. BIIRE(R and E run together)HLM MON ETA (type as B.M.C., Pl. X. 10).

At 21.8 grs. Evans coll., from Croydon find 1862.

Cuthberht.

138. EVÐBERH MON TETA pellets in lunettes (obv. BVRGREDREX $\overline{\mathbf{M}}$)

R 21.2 grs. Evans coll., from Croydon find 1862.

Dealinc.

139. DEXLINC MON ETA pellets in lunettes (obv. — after X).

A 18.8 grs. Evans coll., from Croydon find 1862.

Diarulf.

140. DIARVLF MON ETA type as B.M.C., Pl. X. 10 (obv. — after X).

AR 14 grs. Evans coll., from Bury St. Edmunds.

Dudda.

141. DVDD⊼ MON ET⊼

At 19.6 grs. Evans coll., from Croydon find 1862.

Dudwine.

142. DYDPINE MON ETÃ → obv. BVRGREDREĀ P

At 19.5 grs. Evans coll., from Croydon find 1862.

Ecgulf.

143. ECGYLF MON ETA pellets in lunettes.

R (base) 18-9 grs. Sotheby, 19-21 xii. 1911, lot 177.

Ethelwulf.

144. EÐEFVFF FM ϕ N ETA type as B.M.C., Pl. X. 10. obv. BVRGREDREX $\overline{\mathbf{T}}$

A 21.3 grs. F. W. Hasluck bequest.

Guthere.

145. GYÐÆRE MON ET⊼ pellets in lunettes.

At 20.9 grs. Evans coll., from Croydon find 1862.

Hereferth.

146. HEREFER DMON. ETA. obv. BYRGREDRET

R 17.5 grs. Evans coll., from Croydon find 1862.

Hugered.

147. HYGERED MON ETA type as B.M.C., Pl. X. 10, pellets in upper and lower divisions; obv. +BVRGREDREI

R 20.8 grs. Evans coll., from Croydon find 1862.

Hussa.

148. +HYSSA MON ETA type as B.M.C., Pl. X. 10;

At 20.7 grs. Evans coll., from Croydon find 1862.

Liafwald.

149. LIXFYXL DMON ETX pellets at end.

A 16.8 grs. Evans coll., from Croydon find 1862.

Tata.

150. TATA MON ETA type as B.M.C., Pl. X. 10.

R 16 grs. Evans coll., from Croydon find 1862.

Tatel.

151. +TA·TEL M♦N ETA obv. inscription beginning above head and divided by bust +BVRLR EDREX™ Style different from the usual coins, similar to the B.M.C., nos. 386 and 387; large flan, spread designs, and large lettering.

A 21.5 grs. Evans coll. [Pl. X. 17.]

Wulferd.

152. YYLFERD MON ET⊼ pellets in lunettes.

A 17.8 grs. Evans coll., from the Thames.

CEOLWULF II.

Cudulf. Similar to B.M.C., Pl. X. 16.

153. Obv.—Bust r., no inner circle. +CEOLYY+LF REXM

Rev.—Cross in lozenge-shaped centre of long cross. EVD VLF MON ETX

AR 19.6 grs. Purchased 1904.

This coin appears to me to have been altered from a coin reading on obverse (beginning above the head, as is usual on these coins of Alfred) +ELFRED REXT

Liofwald. Type as preceding; obv. inscription beginning above head and divided by bust.

154. Obv.—CIOLVVLFREX.

Rev -LIOF VX LDM OHET

At 18.7 grs. Evans coll. from Marsham sale, 1888, lot 87.

G. C. Brooke.

MISCELLANEA.

A FIND OF TARENTINE NOMOI, ETC., FROM ITALY.

	Number of	
TARENTUM.	specimens	. Condition.
Nomoi. Evans Per. VII.		
Type A 1	2	fine
A 2 or 3	3	v. fine
	$rac{2}{1}$,,
B 1		fine
C 3	_ 2	(1) f. d. c.
C3 var. Obv. IΩ API		
rev. NEY	1	v. fine
Not in Evans. As Egger, xiv.		
(ΣΙ ΘΕ); may belong to Per.		well preserved
Ο 4 Α ΔΑΜΥΛΟΣ (
ΔΑΜΟΚΡΙ)	1	v. fine
	1	well preserved
$\mathbf{F}_{\mathbf{z}}^{2}$	$\frac{2}{6}$,,
$\mathbf{G}_{\mathbf{G}}(\mathbf{G}_{\mathbf{G}}) = \mathbf{G}_{\mathbf{G}}(\mathbf{G}_{\mathbf{G}}) + \mathbf{G}_{\mathbf{G}}(\mathbf{G}_{\mathbf$	6.	,,,
Drachms. Evans, p. 162.		
No. 2	$\frac{2}{1}$	
No. 6	1	, ,
Nomoi. Evans Per. VIII.		
A 6	1	v. poor
C 2	1	•
L 3 (all from varied dies)	8	f. d. c.
Diobols. Cf. Evans, p. 224.		
No. 8	1	f. d. c
Head of Athena facing; rev. bet		
legs of Herakles strangling	lion.	
EΫΦ	1	fine
Head of Athena r.; rev. bets		
legs of Herakles I; in fie	ld I.	
owl on the wing	1	
Litra. As Evans, p. 222, No. 1.	1	,, ,
NUMISM. CHRON., VOL. II, SERIES V.		\mathbf{s}

CROTON.	Number of specimens.	Condition.
Didrachms. Num. Chron., 1915, I VIII. 9, 6.01 gr. Num. Chr., 1915, Pl. VIII. 1	1 (extremely fine
6.33 gr.	1	v. fine
THURIUM.		
Didrachm. Head of Athena l. crested helmet decorated w: Skylla hurling rock (?). R ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ above bull cha ing r.; in ex. dolphin r. w: traces of a letter r. and l., p bably Φ————————————————————————————————————	ith ev. rg- ith	v. fine
Summary: Tarentum nomo ,, drach ,, diobo	$\begin{array}{ccc} \mathrm{ms} & 3 \\ \mathrm{ls} & 3 \end{array}$	
., litra Croton didrachm Thurium didrach		

In the above list the indications of condition discount the erosion due to bad cleaning, which was done before the coins were seen by me.

42

This find confirms the fact that Croton struck didrachms of reduced weight after 281 B.C., and fully justifies Mr. S. W. Grose's opinion that such coins were struck c. 280-277 B C.

As regards the Tarentine coins of the find, I am inclined to believe that Type VIII, L 3 may have been struck c. 272 B.C., the probable date of the burying of this small hoard, and that VIII, A 6 and C 2 really belong to Period VII—a fact which was also made evident by the composition of the Calabrian find (cf. Evans, p. 216).

All the Tarentine nomoi are of the reduced weight standard, and range from 6.60 gr. to 6.40 gr. according to their condition. The specimen ΣI OE weighs 6.40 gr., but I have in my cabinet another example f. d. c. from same dies, weighing 6.54 gr.

The reading C 4 (Period VII) \Re Δ AMY Λ O Σ is certain, and confirmed by another extremely fine example in my collection (ex. Egger Sale, xlv, 102), and Jameson, Cat., Pl. X. 203. All the f. d. c. examples of type L 3, Period VIII, are from varied dies both for obv. and rev. The inscription is in no case EYN/ Δ AMOKPITO Σ as given by Evans, but

EYP/ DAMOKPI or EY/ DAMOKPI EY/ DAMOK EY/ DAMOKPI

Rev. sometimes inscribed TAPAΣ, other times TAPAΣ. It is also to be noted that on all the above varieties the rider does not crown his horse, but holds up his r. hand empty. I have, however, in my cabinet a nomos of same type (not from this find) on which the rider crowns his horse inscribed EY/ AAMO KPI, and two examples of the very interesting modification inscribed in microscopic letters $EY\Phi/\Delta AMOKPITO\Sigma$, on which the horse is represented almost three-quarters facing, and the rider almost facing turns round towards l. holding in extended r. hand a patera, cf. the 24/31/1902 Paris Sambon Sale. lot No. 302, and Rev. Num., 1904, p. 152, note 1. This rare type is represented in the Taranto and Naples cabinets (Coll. Stevens, No. 86), and also at Amsterdam (cf. Cat. 1863, No. 4). The monogram on rev. is A in place of the usual X or X (probably for IΩΓY). The only other interesting Tarentine nomos is the unpublished variety of type C 3 (Period VII) with IΩ/APIΣ in place of the usual IΩ/NEY/MH, and with NEY transferred to rev. in place of APIX. The Thurium nomes, with the head of Athena to left, is very rare and probably of a quite new type, and it is unfortunate that the obv. is not well struck up. There is no doubt that this type is connected with Num. Chron., 1921, Pl. IV. 6.

M. P. VLASTO.

[Note.—The two didrachms of Croton and that of Thurium have been kindly presented by Mr. Vlasto to the British Museum. Edd.]

ZONE AD SERRHEUM.





Obv. Head of Apollo r. laureate.

Rev. $\mathbf{I}\Omega$ on r. downwards, NAI on l. upwards. Chelys with six strings. Shallow circular incuse.

 $\cancel{E} \rightarrow 11.5 \text{ mm.}$ Wt. 16.9 grn. (1.10 grm.).

Acquired by the British Museum with the Woodhouse Collection in 1866. Fine green patina.

This little coin, which by its excellent style and fabric may be assigned to the middle of the fourth century B. c., must belong to the little settlement of Zone on the Samothracian Peraea. I consign to a footnote 1 the various

1 Hecataeus ap. Steph. Byz. Ζώνη, πόλις Κικόνων. Έκαταΐος Εὐρώπη. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ζωναΐος.

Herodotus vii. 59 τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας... ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκω ἐκόμισαν, ἐν τῷ Σάλη τε Σαμοθρηικίη πεπόλισται πόλις καὶ Ζώνη, τελευταία δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρειον ἄκρη ἀνομαστή. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὖτος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Κικόνων.

Seylax 67 (Müller, G. G. M. i. p. 56):

κατὰ ταύτην (Σαμοθράκην) ἐν τῆ ἦπείρω ἐμπόρια, Δρθε, Ζώνη, ποταμὸς «Εβρος.

Apollonius Rhod. Argon. i. 28:

φηγοί δ' ἀγριάδες, κείνης ἔτι σήματα μολπῆς, ἀκτῆς Θρηικίης Ζώνης ἔπι τηλεθόωσαι έξείης στιχόωσιν ἐπήτριμοι, ᾶς ὅ γ' ἐπιπρὸ θελγομένας φόρμιγγι κατήγαγε Πιερίηθεν.

Schol. ad. loc. Ζώνη έστιν ορεινος τόπος ουτω καλούμενος και πόλις όμωνυμος.

Nicander, Ther. 460:

'Ρησκυνθίδος Ήμης Έβρος ΐνα, Ζωναΐά τ' ὅρη χιόνεσσι φάληρα καὶ δούες Οlaγρίδαο, τόθι Ζηρύνθιον ἄντρον.

literary references to the place which I have been able to trace. From these it appears that Zone was situated alongside the promontory of Serrheum (now identified with Makri, seven and a half miles west of Dedeagatch) in the land over against Samothrace, formerly occupied by the What was the actual origin of Zone is uncertain. Perdrizet ² supposes that it was a Samothracian foundation of early date, perhaps even as early as the eighth century. It is true that the epitomizer of Stephanus says that in Hecataeus Zone was described as a city of the Ciconians, whereas Herodotus has been understood to describe it as a Samothracian fort in a place which was formerly occupied by the Ciconians. But Perdrizet urges that, lacking the full text of Hecataeus, we cannot assume, from what we have, that the Samothracians were not already there at the time when Hecataeus was writing, that is towards the end of the sixth century. On the other hand it may be observed that Herodotus does not definitely say that Zone was Samothracian at all; indeed he rather implies that In vii. 108 he speaks of the Samothracian it was not. forts, but names only the westernmost of them, Mesambria. In the passage quoted in the footnote he definitely describes Sale as Samothracian, but from the way he mentions Zone it is indeed arguable that he did not consider it to be one of the Samothracian foundations. Had he done so he would presumably have used the plural instead of the singular verb and noun.

Legend related that the trees which Orpheus incited by his music to follow him from Pieria took root and flourished

Schol. ad loc. 'Υησκυνθίδος: τὸ 'Υησκύνθιον ὅρος Θράκης Ἡρας ἱερόν . . . ἔστι δὲ τῆς "Ηρας καὶ Ζηρυνθίου 'Απόλλωνος νεὼς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ . . . οὐ μακρὰν δέ ἐστι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ("Εβρου) ἡ Ζώνη ἡ πόλις, μεθ' ἢν αὶ 'Ορφέως δρύες εἰσίν, ὑφ' ἀς πόλις ἐστὶ Ζηρύνθιον ἐν ἦ τὸ ἄντρον. μέμνηται δὲ Ζώνης καὶ 'Απολλώνιος . . . μέμνηται καὶ οὖτος ὁ Νίκανδρος

τῷ μὲν ὑπὸ Ζωναῖον ἄρος δρύες ἀμφί τε φηγοὶ ριζόθι δινήθησαν ἀνέστησάν τε χορείαν οἶά τε παρθενικαί.

Mela 2. 28: (after Doriscus) 'dein promunturium Serrhion, et quo canentem Orphea secuta narrantur etiam nemora Zone. tum Sthenos fluvius'.

Plin. N. H. iv. 11 (18). 43 'mons Serrium, Zone, tum locus Doriscum'.

² Rev. des Études Grecques, xxii. (1909), p. 34.

on the Thracian shore at Zone. The scholiast on Nicander tells us that you came to the oaks of Orpheus just after Zone going west, and that under them was a town called Zerynthium with a cave; perhaps the cave of the Zerynthian Apollo whom he has just mentioned as sharing a temple with Hera on Mount Rhescynthus.

The passages cited and the coin are, however, not the only evidence of the existence of Zone that has come down to us. In a fragment of an assessment of the tribute to Athens, dating possibly from 420 or 416 B. C., $Z \acute{\nu} \nu \gamma \pi \alpha \rho \grave{\lambda} \simeq \acute{\epsilon} \rho \rho \epsilon \iota \nu \nu$ was put down to pay the sum of two talents. It does not appear before or after this date in these lists,

so far as they have been preserved.

I have described the head on the obverse of the coin as Apollo. The fact that the Ciconians were descended from a son of that god would be sufficient to account for the appearance of the type, even though we had not the evidence of the existence of a cult of Apollo at Zerynthium in the immediate neighbourhood. It must, however, be admitted that any one who is inclined to see in the head a representation of Orpheus might make out some sort of a case for himself. The wreath of bay and the lyre are equally suitable to both. The less romantic identification is, however, the more likely to be correct. It usually is.

G. F. H.

³ I. G. I Suppl., p. 141, no. 37, ll. 16, 17; Hicks and Hill, Gk. Hist. Inscr., p. 120; E. Cavaignac, Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au V^e siècle (1908), p. xlv; Perdrizet, loc. cit. This fragment does not belong, as used to be supposed, to the assessment of 424 B.C. I have to thank Mr. M. N. Tod for references to the literature on this point.

REVIEWS.

The Weber Collection. Volume I. Greek Coins. Auriol Find Class—Hispania—Gallia—Britannia—Italy and Sicily. By L. Forrer. Pp. xvi+377. With a portfolio of 69 plates. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. Spink and Son. 1922. 63s. net.

SIR HERMANN WEBER died on the day of the Armistice, 1918. The wonderful collection of Greek coins which he had brought together was purchased by Messrs. Spink and Son before the year was out. One of the conditions attached to the purchase was, we believe, that the British Museum should have the first choice of such pieces as it might be willing and able to acquire. That condition was fulfilled with liberality, both on the part of Messrs. Spink and of the Government, for a special grant enabled the selection to be a large one, and to comprise many of the greatest rarities. Another condition was that a complete catalogue of the collection should be printed. The first volume lies before us—unduly delayed, say the publishers, but we think their ideal must be a high one. With that industry which every one who knows him justly admires, Mr. Forrer has produced full descriptions of all the coins of the series enumerated in the title, to the number of 1795. The proofs have been read by Mr. E. S. G. Robinson. Every coin is illustrated in the very satisfactory plates. The weights are indicated in grammes as well as grains, the sizes in milli-References are given, so far as possible, to the sources from which the coins were acquired (Sir Hermann Weber was exemplary in ticketing his specimens), to previous publications, and to descriptions of similar coins in standard publications. Printing and setting out are all that could be desired. The book is a most solid and useful contribution to Greek numismatics, on which everybody concerned is to be congratulated. But there is one class of people who ought to have been concerned and have not been. We trust that English printers will note that the insane cost of printing and collotype reproduction has necessitated the production of this book in France. The price is quite There will presumably be two more volumes. The whole will be a splendid monument to a fine collector of the old school. If such catalogues could be made of all great collections, there would be less cause to lament their dispersal.

G. F. H.

Les Monnaies Grecques. Aperçu historique par Ernest Babelon. Pp. 160. Avec 21 illustrations. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. Collection Payot. 1921. 4 fr.

WE have delayed too long to notice this little volume, which is written with the lucidity and ease which one has learned to expect from French authors. Nothing is more difficult than to produce in 160 small pages an account of so complicated a subject which shall leave any impression on the mind of the reader unacquainted with the elements. This book should properly be reviewed by such a reader, who, we feel sure. would say that it is a success. Here it is hardly necessary to remark more than that the writer wisely contents himself, for the most part, with giving the views generally accepted at the present time, or, at any rate, views that he has himself maintained elsewhere, realizing that such a book is not the place for brand-new theories. Thus, having always been satisfied that he can classify the daries and sigloi under Darius I, Xerxes, and their successors to Codomannus, he does not hesitate to say so. He deals in five chapters with the origin of coinage; the Archaic period to the Persian wars; the Great Period (V-IV centuries); the Hellenistic Period; the Roman Period. The 21 lineblocks, very fair in their way, do not of course give any idea of the artistic importance of the subject; but then the book costs but four francs. We notice that on the famous coin of 'Phanes', M. Babelon reads Paeros where his draughtsman reads Davvos.

G. F. H.

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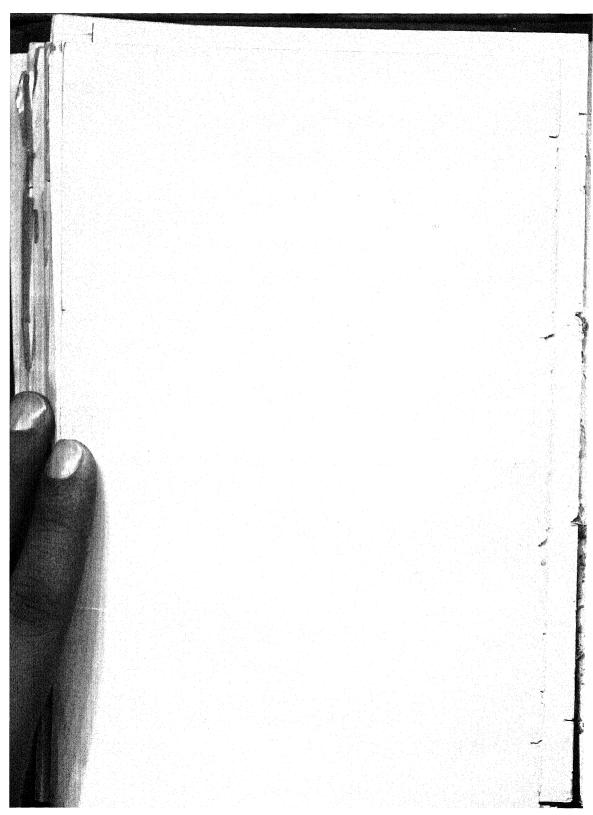
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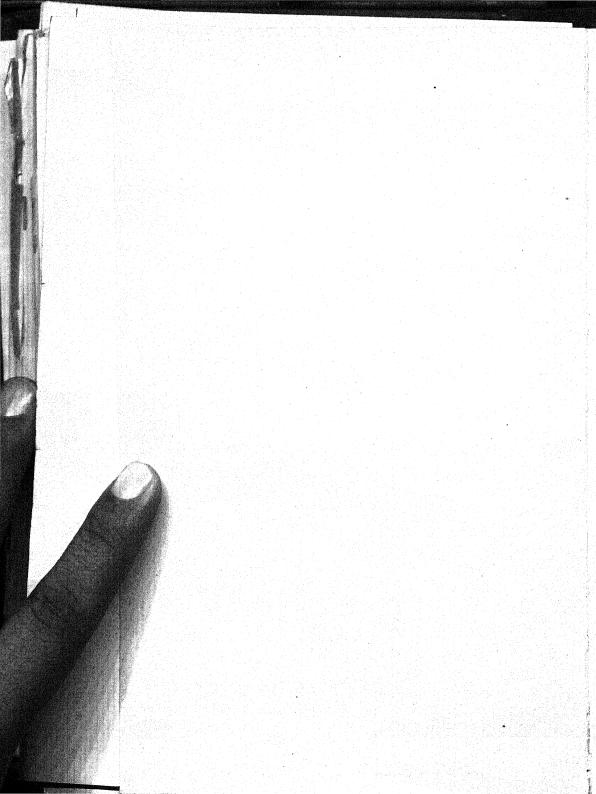
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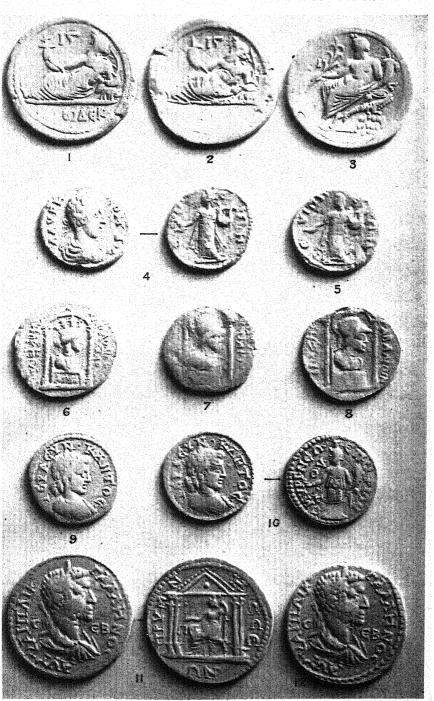
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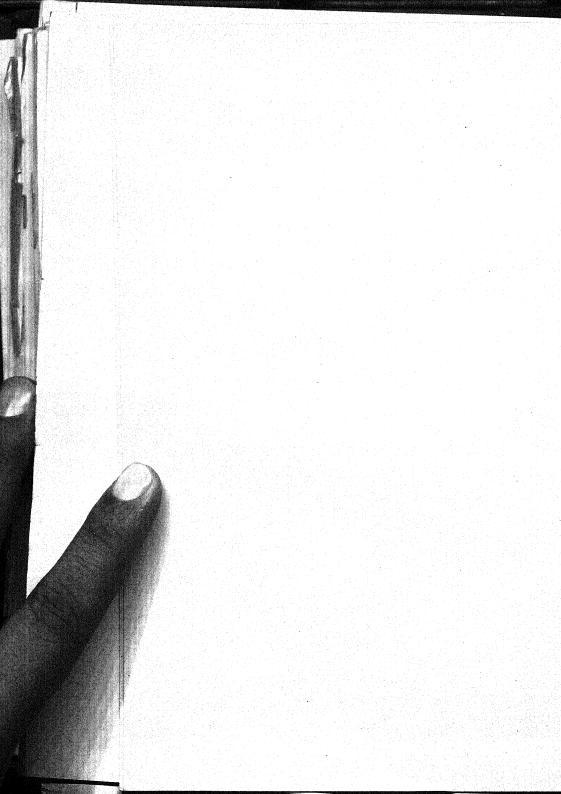


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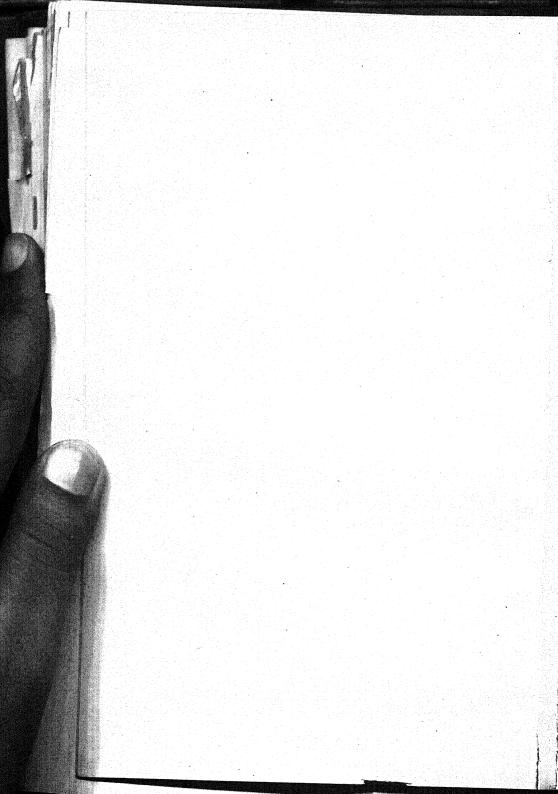


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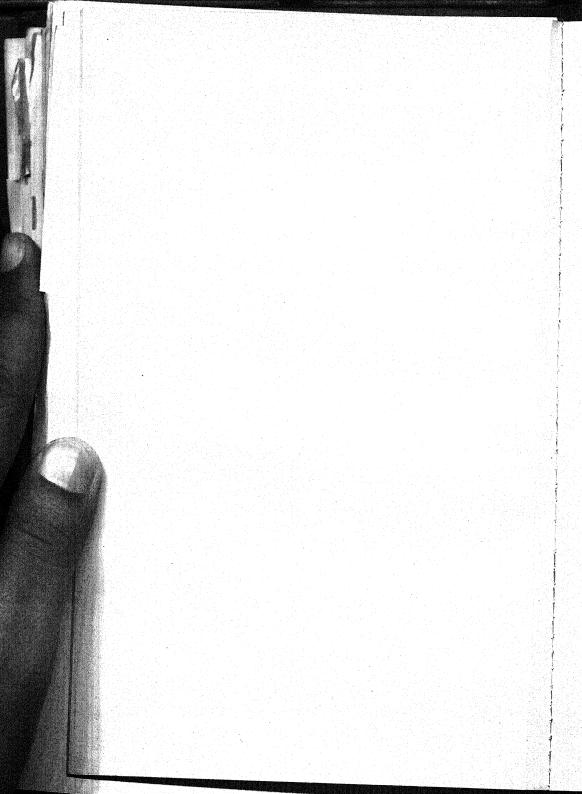
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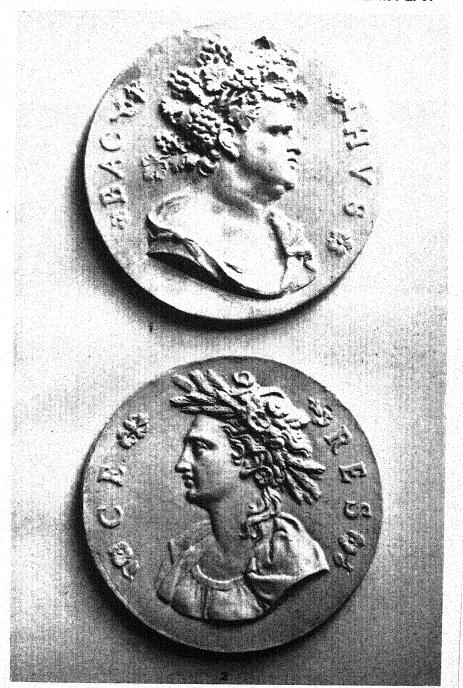






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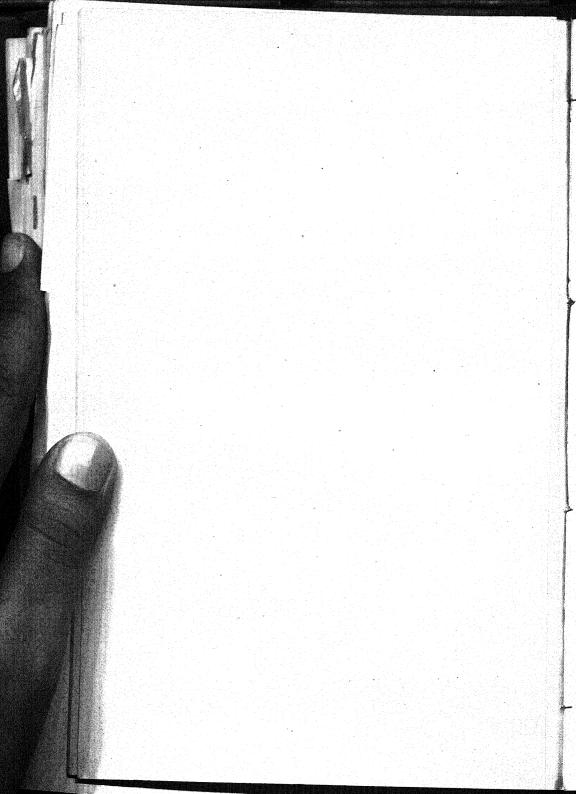


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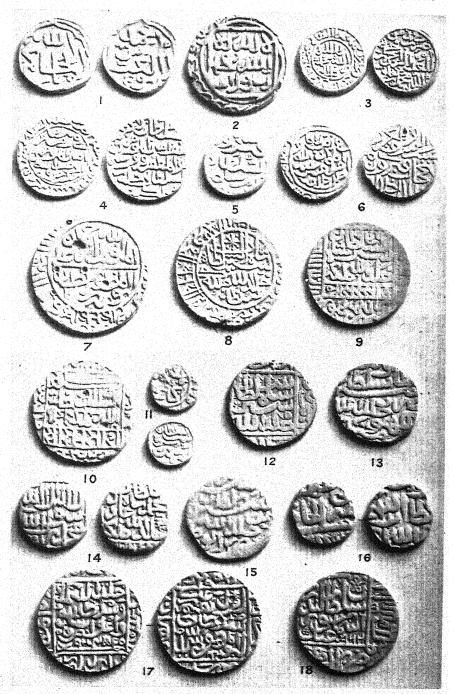
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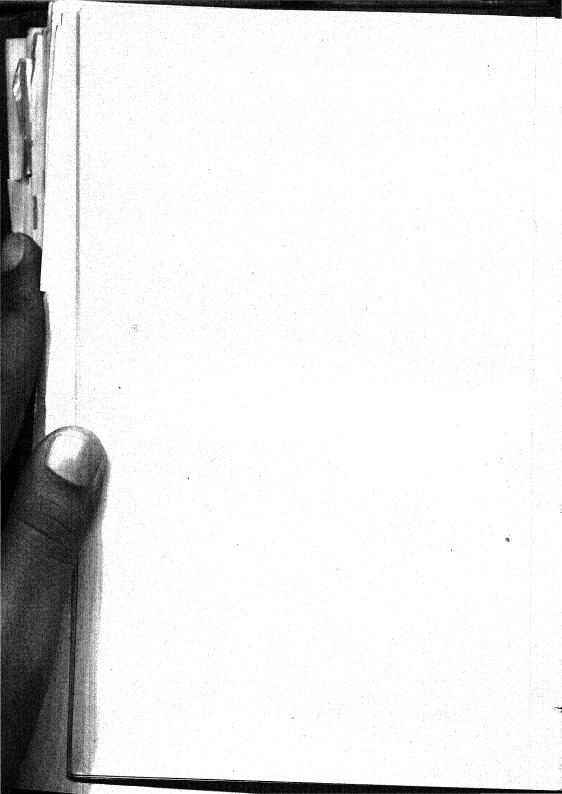


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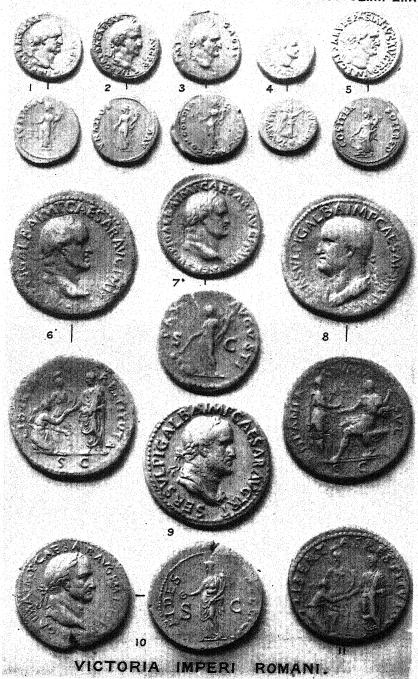


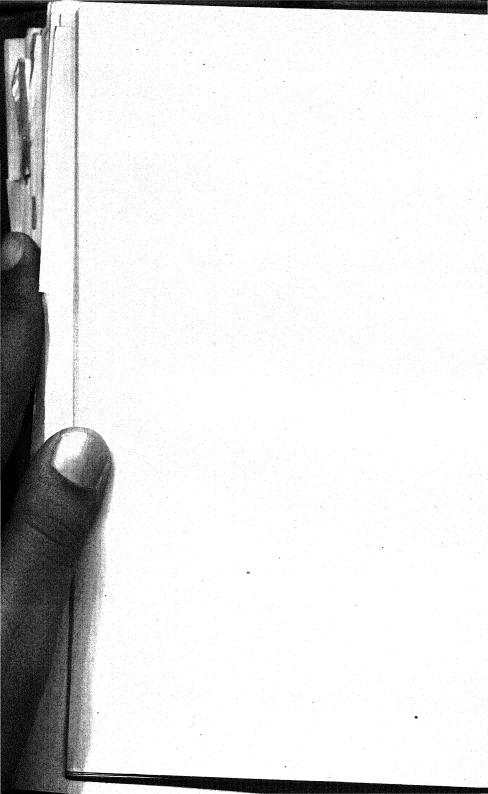


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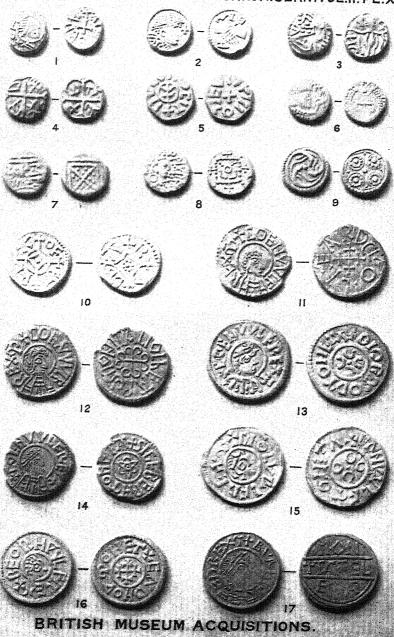


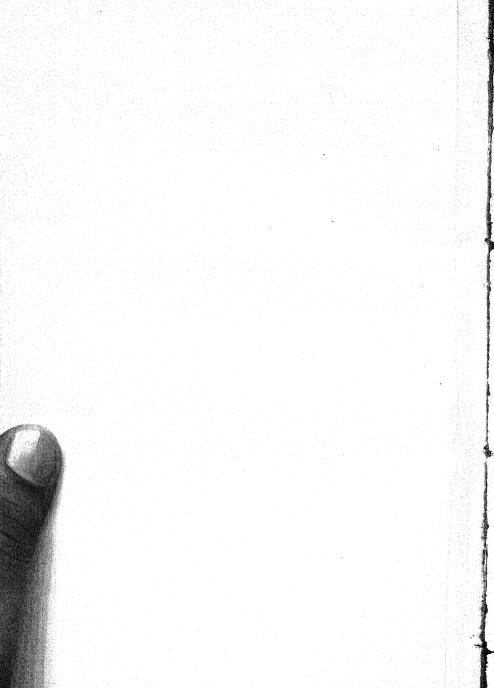
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1922

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- 1919 Rose, Edward E. Pilkington, Esq., I.C.S., Loughton, Essex.
- 1911 †Rosenheim, Maurice, Esq., 18 Belsize Park Gardens, N.W. 3.
- 1903 Ruben, Paul, Esq., Ph.D., Alte Rabenstrasse, 8, Hamburg, Germany.
- 1919 Ryan, V. J. E., Esq., Hotel des Trois Couronnes, Vevey, Switzerland.
- 1916 SAINT LOUIS NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 4365 Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.

1872 *SALAS, MIGUEL T., Esq., 247 Florida Street, Buenos Ayres.

1916 *SALISBURY, F. S., Esq., M.A., Limbrick Hall, Harpenden, Herts.

1877 †*Sandeman, Lieut.-Col. John Glas, M.V.O., F.S.A., Whin-Hurst, Hayling Island, Havant, Hants.

1919 SAVAGE, W. LISLE, Esq., 14 Mill Street, Maidstone, Kent.

1917 SEABY, B. A., Esq., c/o Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd., 17 Piccadilly, W. 1.

1921 SEAGER, RICHARD B., Esq., c/o Baring Bros., Ltd., 8 Bishopsgate, E.C. 2.

1907 *SELTMAN, CHARLES T., Esq., 24 Fulbroke Road, Cambridge.

1890 Seltman, E. J., Esq., Kinghoe, Berkhamsted, Herts.

1900 SHACKLES, GEORGE L., Esq., Elm Lodge, Hornsea, E. Yorks.

1913 Shirley-Fox, J. S., Esq., R.B.A., Kingsbury Hill House, Marlborough, Wilts.

1896 SIMPSON, C. E., Esq. (address not known).

1893 *Sims, Brig.-General R. F. Manley-, C.M.G., D.S.O., 163 Strand, W.C. 2.

1896 SINHA, KUNVAR KUSHAL PAL, M.A., RAIS OF KOTLA, Kotla, Agra, India.

1918 *SLIGO, THE MARQUESS OF, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., 7 Upper Belgrave Street, S.W. 1.

1890 SMITH, W. BERESFORD, Esq., Kenmore, Vanbrugh Park Road West, Blackheath, S.E. 3.

1905 SNELLING, EDWARD, Esq., 26 Silver Street, E.C. 2.

1909 Soutzo, M. Michel, 8 Strada Romana, Bucharest.

1922 SPENCER-CHURCHILL, CAPT. E. G., Northwick Park, Blockley.

1894 SPINK, SAMUEL M., Esq., 17 Piccadilly, W. 1.

1902 STAINER, CHARLES LEWIS, Esq., Woodhouse, Iffley, Oxford.

1922 STARKEY, W. BEAMONT, Esq., Lyonsdown, Ilfracombe.

1920 STEWART, K. D., Esq., 17 Todd Street, Manchester.

1869 †*Streatfeild, Rev. George Sydney, 12 Upper Lattimore Road, St. Albans.

1914 *STREATFEILD, MRS. SYDNEY, 22 Park Street, W. 1.

1910 SUTCLIFFE, ROBERT, Esq., 21 Market Street, Burnley, Lancs.

1914 SYDENHAM, REV. EDWARD A., M.A., The Vicarage, Wolvercote, Oxford.

1885 Symonds, Henry, Esq., F.S.A., Staplegrove Elm, Taunton.

1896 *Taffs, H. W., Esq., 35 Greenholm Road, Eltham, S.E. 9.

1879 TALBOT, LIEUT. COL. THE HON. MILO GEORGE, C.B., Bifrons, Canterbury.

- 1919 TARAPOREVALA, VICAJI D. B., Esq., 190 Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
- 1917 Taylor, Glen A., Esq., Middleton House, Briton Ferry, Glamorgan.
- 1892 *TAYLOR, R. WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., LL.B., F.S.A., 8 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. 2.
- 1887 THAIRLWALL, F. J., Esq., 12 Upper Park Road, N.W. 3.
- 1920 THOMAS, J. ROCHELLE, Esq., Elm House, Ellison Road, S.W. 13.
- 1918 THORBURN, PHILIP, Esq., Hascombe, Godalming, Surrey.
- 1894 TRIGGS, A. B., Esq., Bank of New South Wales, Yass, New South Wales.
- 1921 VALENTINE, W. H., Esq., 60 Upper Kennington Lane, S.E. 11.
- 1912 VAN BUREN, DR. A. W., American Academy, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome.
- 1916 VANES, REV. J. A., Wesleyan Mission, Shimoga, Mysore, India.
- 1899 VLASTO, MICHEL P., Esq., 12 Allée des Capucines, Marseilles, France.
- 1905 WACF, A. J. B., Esq., M.A., Leslie Lodge, Hall Place, St. Albans.
- 1883 WALKER, R. K., Eso., M.A., J.P., Watergate, Meath Road, Bray, Ireland.
- 1897 WALTERS, FRED. A., ESQ., F.S.A., 28 Great Ormonde Street, W.C. 1, and St. Mildred's, Temple Ewell, Dover.
- 1911 WARRE, MAJOR FELIX W., O.B.E., M.C., 128 Church Street, W. 8.
- 1920 *Watson, Commander Harold Newall, R.N., Belmont, 10 Curzon Park, Chester.
- 1901 *Watters, Charles A., Esq., 152 Princes Road, Liverpool.
- 1917 WATTS, GERALD A., Esq., Drumlerry, Londonderry.
- 1901 Webb, Percy H., Esq., M.B.E., 4 and 5 West Smithfield, E.C. 1, Hon. Treasurer.
- 1885 *Weber, F. Parkes, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., 13 Harley Street, W. 1.
- 1904 Weight, William Charles, Esq., Erica, The Broadway, Letchworth.
- 1905 WEIGHTMAN, SURGEON-CAPTAIN A. E., R.N., F.S.A., O.B.E., Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, St. James's, S.W. 1.

- 1899 WELCH, FRANCIS BERTRAM, Esq., M.A., Wadham House, Arthog Road, Hale, Cheshire.
- 1920 *Wheeler, Ernest H., Esq., 56 Caledonian Road, N. 1.
- 1915 WHITEHEAD, R. B., Esq., I.C.S. (retd.), M.R.A.S., Bootle Rectory, Cumberland.
- 1869 *Wigram, Mrs. Lewis, The Rookery, Frensham, Surrey.
- 1921 WILKINSON, SURGEON-COMMANDER E. A. G., Kingshot, St. Cross, Winchester, Hants.
- 1908 WILLIAMS, T. HENRY, Esq., 85 Clarendon Road, S.W. 15.
- 1910 WILLIAMS, W. I., Esq., Beech Villa, Nelson, Cardiff.
- 1881 WILLIAMSON, GEO. C., Esq., F.R.S.L., Burgh House, Well Walk, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
- 1906 WILLIAMSON, CAPT. W. H. (address not known).
- 1906 WOOD, HOWLAND, Esq., Curator of the American Numismatic Society, 156th Street, W. of Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
- 1920 WOODWARD, W. H., Esq., 5 E Portman Mansions, W. 1.
- 1920 *Woodward, A. M. Tracey, Esq., Chinese P.O. Box No. 60, Shanghai, China.
- 1920 †WOOLLCOMBE, DR. ROBERT LLOYD, M.A, LL.D. (Dublin Univ.), LL.D. (National Univ.), F.I.Inst., F.R.C. Inst., F.R.G.S., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., M.R.I.A., F.R.S.A. (Ireland), Barrister-at-Law, 14 Waterloo Road, Dublin.
- 1903 WRIGHT, H. NELSON, Esq., I.C.S., M.R.A.S., Bareilly, United Provinces, India.
- 1920 WYMAN, ARTHUR CRAWFORD, Esq., Sudley House, Sudley Road, Bognor, Sussex.
- 1889 †Yeates, F. Willson, Esq., 28 Dawson Place, W. 2.
- 1922 YOANNA, A. DE, ESQ., B.A., M.D., 111 Pierreport Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- 1880 Young, Arthur W., Esq., 12 Hyde Park Terrace, W. 2.
- 1898 Young, James Shelton, Esq., Poole House, Hanley Castle, Worcestershire.
- 1919 ZIEGLER, PHILIP, Esq., Lilly Villa, Victoria Park, Manchester.

HONORARY FELLOWS

- 1898 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY, Palazzo Quirinale, Rome.
- 1891 BABELON, M. ERNEST, Membre de l'Institut, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- 1903 BAHRFELDT, GENERAL DER INFANTERIE A. D., PROFESSOR MAX VON, Dr. Phil., Zinksgarten Strasse 2, Halle (Saale), Germany.
- 1898 BLANCHET, M. ADRIEN, Membre de l'Institut, 10 Bd. Émile Augier, Paris XVI.
- 1899 GABRICI, PROF. DR. ETTORE, S. Giuseppe dei Nudi 75, Naples.
- 1893 JONGHE, M. LE VICOMTE B. DE, Rue du Trône, 60, Brussels.
- 1878 KENNER, Dr. F. von, Kunsthist Museum, Vienna.
- 1904 KUBITSCHEK, PROF. J. W., Pichlergasse, 1, Vienna IX.
- 1893 LOEBBECKE, HERR A., Cellerstrasse, 1, Brunswick.
- 1904 MAURICE, M. JULES, 15 Rue Vaneau, Paris VII.
- 1899 PICK, DR. BEHRENDT, Münzkabinett, Gotha.
- 1895 REINACH, M. THÉODORE, Membre de l'Institut, 2 Place des États-Unis, Paris.
- 1891 †Svoronos, M. Jean N., Conservateur du Cabinet des Médailles, Athens.

MEDALLISTS

OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

ELECTED

1883 CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.

1884 AQUILA SMITH, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A.

1885 EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., F.R.S.

1886 Major-General Alexander Cunningham, C.S.I., C.I.E.

1887 John Evans, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A.

1888 Dr. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, Winterthur.

1889 PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., F.S.A.

1890 Monsieur J. P. Six, Amsterdam.

1891 Dr. C. Ludwig Müller, Copenhagen.

1892 PROFESSOR R. STUART POOLE, LL.D.

1893 M.W. H. WADDINGTON, Sénateur, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.

1894 CHARLES FRANCIS KEARY, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

1895 PROFESSOR DR. THEODOR MOMMSEN, Berlin.

1896 FREDERIC W. MADDEN, Esq., M.R.A.S.

1897 Dr. Alfred von Sallet, Berlin.

1898 THE REV. CANON W. GREENWELL, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

1899 M. Ernest Babelon, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.

1900 Professor Stanley Lane-Poole, M.A., Litt.D.

1901 S. E. BARON WLADIMIR VON TIESENHAUSEN, St. Petersburg.

1902 ARTHUR J. EVANS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

1903 M. Gustave Schlumberger, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.

1904 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY.

1905 SIR HERMANN WEBER, M.D.

1906 COMM. FRANCESCO GNECCHI, Milan.

1907 BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, Esq., D.Litt., D.C.L., Ph.D., Corr. de l'Inst.

1908 PROFESSOR DR. HEINRICH DRESSEL, Berlin.

1909 HERBERT A. GRUEBER, Esq., F.S.A.

1910 Dr. FRIEDRICH EDLER VON KENNER, Vienna.

1911 OLIVER CODRINGTON, Esq., M.D., M.R.A.S., F.S.A.

1912 GENERAL-LEUTNANT MAX VON BAHRFELDT, Hildesheim.

1913 George Macdonald, Esq., M.A., LL.D.

1914 JEAN N. SVORONOS, Athens.

1915 GEORGE FRANCIS HILL, Esq., M.A.

1916 M. Théodore Reinach, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.

1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, Esq., F.S.A.

1918 Not awarded.

1919 M. Adrien Blanchet, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.

1920 H. B. EARLE-FOX, Esq., and J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, Esq.

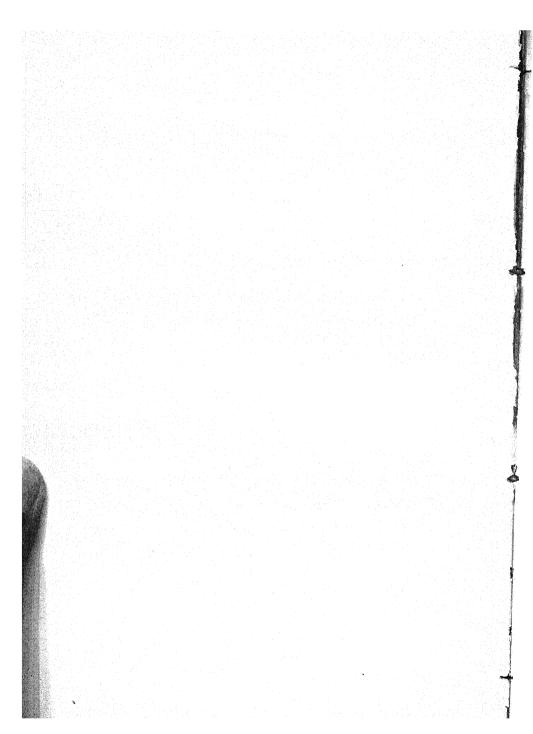
1921 PERCY H. WEBB, Esq.

1922 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, Esq., F.S.A.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1921-1922.

Остовек 20, 1921.

Prof. Sir Charles Onan, K.B.E., M.P., LL.D., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of May 19 were read and approved.

The following Presents received since the May Meeting were announced, laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

- 1. Annual Report of the Royal Mint, 1918-19; from the Deputy-Master of the Royal Mint.
 - 2. Antiquaries Journal, 1921, Pts. 3 and 4.
 - 3. American Journal of Archaeology, 1921.
 - 4. Annual of the British School at Athens, Vol. xxiii.
- 5. Miss Agnes Baldwin. Five Roman Medallions; from the American Numismatic Society.
 - 6. Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1921, Pt. 1.
- 7. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1921, Pt. 1.
- 8. The Marquess of Milford Haven. Naval Medals, Vol. ii; from the Executors of the late Admiral of the Fleet, the Marquess of Milford Haven.

- 9. Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Vol. lxx.
 - 10. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol. xxxii.
 - 11. Revue Belge, 1921, Pts. 1 and 2.
 - 12. Revue Numismatique, 1921, Pt. 1.
 - 13. Rivista Italiana, 1921, Pt. 2.
- 14. Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, Bulletin, 1921, Pt. 1.
 - 15. Syria, 1921, Pt. 2.
- Mr. Robert B. Seager was proposed for election as a Fellow of the Society.

Rev. Edgar Rogers exhibited drachms of Antiochus I, Seleucus III, and Antiochus IV (radiate head).

Mr. V. J. E. Ryan showed a first brass of Trajan, a variety of Cohen 469, with usual S•P•Q•R• legend but no modius or ship. Mr. Ryan also showed a denarius of Germanicus and Augustus differing from Cohen 2 in reading GERMAN ICVS CAES• TI AVG• F• COS II• IMP• and not AVGV• COS II•P•M•

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher showed five tokens described by Mr. F. P. Barnard in the *Num. Chron.*, 1921, pp. 152-155.

Mr. Percy H. Webb showed a set of the new French 1921 coinage of aluminium-bronze.

Mr. L. G. P. Messenger showed a set of brass pieces believed to be Jersey tokens of the early nineteenth century.

On behalf of Señor Don Dr. José Evaristo Uriburu, the Argentine Minister, Mr. J. Allan exhibited a bronze medal recently struck in Buenos Ayres to commemorate the first centenary of the birth of the Argentine statesman and historian, General Bartolomé Mitre, a former President of the Republic.

- Obv. Head r. Mitre below; around A•D• MDCCC XXI-XXVI IVNII-MCMXXI.
- Rev. Young male figure advancing to 1., sowing seed;
 SPARCIT SEMINA QVAE ALTERI SAE
 CVLO PROSINT.

- Mr. J. Allan exhibited on behalf of Mr. C. S. Gifford of Boston a specimen of the U.S.A. 1921 dollar.
- Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., showed the following rare sestertii of Vespasian, all in fine condition:
 - 1. Rev. AETERNITAS.P.R. Victory presenting the palladium to the Emperor. Cohen 25.
 - 2. Rev. VICTORIA AVGVSTI. Type as No. 1. Cohen 620.
 - 3. Rev. VICTORIA AVG. The Emperor crowned by Victory sacrificing before a Triumphal Arch. Cohen 589.
 - 4. Rev. ROMA RESVRGES. Rome raised up by the Emperor. C. 424.
 - 5. Rev. SPES AVGVSTA. Hope presenting a flower to three soldiers. Cohen 514.
 - 6. Rev. SIGNIS RECEPTIS. Victory presenting a standard to the Emperor. Cohen 512.
 - Rev. ROMA. Rome seated on the seven hills. Cohen 405.
 - 8. Rev. S.P.Q.R. ADSERTORI LIBERTATIS PVBLICAE in wreath of oak. Cohen 520.
 - 9. Rev. ROMA. Rome seated on arms to left holding a Victory. Cohen 406.
 - 10. Rev. S•P•Q•R• P•P• OB CIVES SERVATOS in wreath of oak. Cohen 531.
 - 11. Rev. PAX AVG. Peace burying the spoils of war. Conen 302.
- Mr. Walters also showed a specimen of the heavy penny of Henry IV, of which only three others are known.
- Mr. H. Alexander Parsons contributed a paper on a newly attributed Manx-Norse coinage. After showing that, on political and cultural grounds, this Scandinavian Kingdom of the West of Britain might be expected to have initiated a native coinage based on Anglo-Saxon models at the same time as every other Northern Kingdom, the lecturer brought under notice silver pennies, of which one was exhibited, which clearly indicated an emission of coins by Godred Haroldson in the late tenth century. Reasons were adduced for showing that the entire legend on the obverse,

and the mint-name on the reverse, were retrograde, and adjusting these common errors, together with an unconscious transposition of two letters, the coins unmistakably disclosed a reading on the obverse of +GVODRECT I(=j) MO (X=runic N) Z (S of the period): for Godred, Jarl of Man and the Sudreyjar (Southern Islands), and on the reverse + V (= W) O L A (unbarred A of the period) M O EFELDR for Wola, the moneyer of Efell, from ey = an island, and Old Norse fjeldr = fell, a hill. Analogous examples of the use, and development into non-colloquial form of the orthography, on these new coins, of the names of this Manx ruler and mint were quoted, together with instances of coins issued, both before and after the date of this Manx money, giving the title of jarl or earl; whilst the evidence of Mon for Man in the Sagas unmistakably located the country of origin of the new money. The exceptionally clear name of the moneyer was shown to be known of the period, though now for the first time on coins. and an essay towards the location of the mint tentatively placed it on the site of the ancient fortified headland opposite the small island called the Eve.

Mr. G. C. Brooke suggested that the coin was one of the many Norse imitations of Ethelred. On this specimen the copier had put the Ethelred legend on the reverse, and the moneyer's name on the obverse. The obverse legend might be equally well explained on a bungled copy of LÆOFDEIN MO D. a Thetford coin. Mr. Parson's coin was similar to if not identical with the coin of the Hebrides illustrated by Lindsay: Coinage of Scotland, Plate I, No. 3.

Sir Henry Howorth and Mr. Johnston took part in the discussion which followed.

NOVEMBER 17, 1921.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of October 20 were read and approved.

The following Presents were announced, laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

- 1. E. T. Newell. The First Seleucid Coinage of Tyre; from the Author.
 - 2. Revue Numismatique, 1921, Pt. 2.
 - 3. Syria, 1921, Pt. 2.
 - 4. Zeitschrift für Numismatik, 1921.
- Mr. A. H. Lloyd and M. R. Jameson were proposed for election, and Mr. Robert B. Seager was elected a Fellow of the Society.
- Mr. Henry Garside exhibited a specimen of the British Victory Medal designed by Mr. William McMillan, a Belgian Congo franc 1920, and a fifty centimes of 1921, both of copper-nickel instead of silver.
- Mr. R. B. Whitehead, I.C.S., showed twenty-four rare Indo-Bactrian didrachms, many of them unique and of the greatest interest.
- Rev. E. A. Sydenham showed an as and a denarius of Galba to illustrate the stylistic relation of the "commemorative coins" to those of Galba's ordinary coinage.
- Mr. Percy H. Webb brought a fine series of silver and bronze coins of Galba, Vitellius, and Vespasian to illustrate Mr. Mattingly's paper.
- Mr. V. J. E. Ryan showed a series of first brass of Tiberius, Nero, Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian, of which the most remarkable were Trajan (Cohen 539), rev. Colonist ploughing, and Hadrian (Cohen 950), rev. LOCVPLETAT ORI ORBIS TERRARVM.
- Mr. Fredk. A. Walters, F.S.A., showed four very rare sestertii of Galba with *rev.* types HISPANIA CLVNIA SVL (Cohen 86); SENATVS PIETATI AVGVSTI (Cohen 280); ADLOCVTIO (Cohen 1); HONOS ET VIRTVS (Cohen 89).
- Mr. Mattingly read a paper on "Commemorative Coins of Galba". (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Chronicle*, pp. 186-199.)

Mr. Percy H. Webb read some criticisms from the Rev. E. A. Sydenham, who was unable to be present. Mr. Sydenham did not consider that the "commemorative" issues could be so clearly separated off as Mr. Mattingly thought, nor did he think it likely that Vespasian would have inaugurated a new type of coinage in honour of Galba at a town, Lugdunum, which had been consistently hostile to him.

Mr. F. A. Walters, while agreeing with some of Mr. Mattingly's conclusions, wished to attribute to the end of Galba's reign the fine series of sestertii referring to the "Adlocutio", the oracle at Clunia, &c.; the adoption of Piso would then be the occasion which prompted the issue of a fine series of coins of medallic character.

DECEMBER 15, 1921.

Prof. Sir Charles Oman, K.B.E., M.P., LL.D., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of November 17 were read and approved.

Mr. A. H. Lloyd and M. R. Jameson were elected Fellows of the Society, and Mr. Harrold E. Gillingham was proposed for election.

The President exhibited twelve half-crowns of Charles I from a find made some years ago in the roof of a house in the Cotswolds. The find—in value exactly £10—consisted of 137 Tower pieces and 23 from local mints. The specimens exhibited included Bristol, Weymouth, Worcester, Oxford (two), and York coins.

Mr. Fredk. A. Walters, F.S.A., showed a didrachm of Corinth with the triton symbol, an unpublished piece.

Mr. Fredk. Harrison exhibited a very fine series of eleven testoons with portraits of the Dukes of Lorraine of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Mr. Percy H. Webb showed a selection of the coins of Carausius described in Mr. Glen Taylor's paper.

Mr. Percy H. Webb read a paper by Mr. Glen A. Taylor on a find of Roman coins made at Skewen between Neath and Swansea in April or May 1919. They were found in reopening a quarry which had been long disused. The find probably contained about 200 coins of which 130 were recovered, of which 60 were in a state suitable for examina-These were of Gallienus (7), Claudius II (6), Tacitus (1), Diocletian (1), Postumus (4), Victorinus (10), Tetricus I (4), Tetricus II (6), Carausius (27), and Allectus (1). The earliest piece is a white metal coin of Postumus of about A.D. 260, and the find was buried about A.D. 296. Among the more remarkable coins of Carausius were a GENIVS EXERCIT and a PAX AVGGG with PF I AVG in obverse inscription, a LEG IIII FLAVIA and a silver washed coin with Diocletian's portrait struck by Carausius to commemorate his recognition by Diocletian and Maximian, and a very neat and well-struck Allectus LAETIT. AVG. The find is being given by the finder to the Welsh National Museum, Cardiff.

Mr. Lawrence read a note on a new gold treble unite of Charles I of Shrewsbury mint. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Chronicle*, pp. 84-90.)

JANUARY 19, 1922.

Prof. Sir Charles Oman, K.B.E., M.P., LL.D., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of December 15 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

- 1. L. Laffranchi. Gli Ampliamenti del Pomerio di Roma; from the Author.
- 2. L. Laffranchi. La Translation de la Monnaie d'Ostia à Arles; from the Author.
- 3. Mitteilungen der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien, Vol. xv, Nos. 35-36.
- 4. W. H. Valentine. Sassanian Coins; from Messrs. Spink & Sons, Ltd.

Mr. Harrold E. Gillingham was elected a Fellow of the Society.

Mr. William Gilbert exhibited an unpublished seventeenthcentury farthing token of Brill in Bucks.

Obv. WILLIAM CLARK: HIS HALFE PENY-W.E.C.

Rev. AT. BRILL 1669. The Mercers Arms.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited a Bogota pattern peso of 1847 in copper by William Wyon.

On behalf of Mr. C. S. Gifford of Boston, U.S.A., Mr. J. Allan exhibited a specimen of the new U.S.A. "Peace" dollar of 1921 and enlarged photographs of the Nepal medal of 1816 showing what Mr. Gifford believed to be the signature of the medallist Th. Wyon.

Mr. Fredk. A. Walters, F.S.A., exhibited a very fine and exceedingly rare Exeter half-crown of Charles I of 1645 mint-mark, obv. rose and rev. EX.

Mr. Fredk. A. Harrison exhibited a very fine series of twenty-two silver thalers of the Hapsburg family ranging from Archduke Sigismund 1486 to the piece commemorating the Diamond Jubilee of Franz Josef, and including a coin of Ferdinand III with *rev*. view of Augsburg, and another of Joseph II with *rev*. a view of Ratisbon.

Mr L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., described a hoard of coins found many years ago at South Kyme in Lincolnshire. (This paper is published in this volume of the *Chronicle*, pp. 49-83.)

FEBRUARY 16, 1922.

Prof. Sir Charles Oman, K.B.E., M.P., LL.D., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of January 19 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

- 1. Archaeologia Aeliana, Ser. III, Vol. xviii, 1921.
- 2. Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 1921, Vol. i.
- 3. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 1921, Pts. 2 and 3.
- 4. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1917, 1919, and 1921.
 - 5. Revue Belge, 1921, Pts. 3 and 4.
 - 6. Rivista Italiana, 1921, Pts. 3 and 4.

Colonel Robert A. Johnson and Capt. E. G. Spencer-Churchill, M.C., were proposed for election.

Mr. Leopold Messenger exhibited an East African florin of 1920, the first issue of the new standard replacing the rupee.

Mr. H. W. Taffs exhibited a London broker's badge. Obv. Royal arms and the engraver's signature, Milton. Rev. City arms and motto and name of owner, Nehemiah Griffiths.

The President showed a false British half-crown of 1868 of pure silver and full weight believed to have been made in Germany about 1905. This specimen had been cut by the Bank of England and returned to the payer.

Miss Helen Farquhar exhibited a silver shell of a badge by Rawlins of Charles I and the complete medal of the same, the shell being struck and the badge cast (Med. Ill., No. 194).

Mr. Henry Garside showed the Straits Settlement dollar and half-dollar and copper-nickel 5 cents all of 1920

Mr. G. C. Haines showed a third brass of Tetricus Junior. Obv. C. PIV. ESV. TETRICVS CAES, bust radiate and draped to 1. Rev. SPES AVGG., Hope to 1. holding flower.

Mr. Fredk. A. Walters, F.S.A., showed a second brass of Hadrian. *Obv.* Bust HADRIANVS AVG COS III P•P. *Rev.* RESTITVTORI AVGVST S•C. Type of Emperor and Africa (not in Cohen).

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., exhibited a selection of denarii from the Denbighshire find described by Mr. Mattingly.

Mr. Mattingly read a paper on "Some recent finds of Roman coins". The first, a find of denarii in South Denbighshire, was chiefly remarkable for the very high proportion of coins of Severus and his family that it contained; a fact probably to be accounted for by the wars in Britain, A.D. 208-211. It extended from Nero to Alexander Severus but, beyond these limits, included a number of legionary coins of Mark Antony, worn almost smooth. Coins of Domitian were scanty, and comparison with other finds and with Dr. Regling's notes in the Frondenburg find led to the conclusion that this was a regular phenomenondue probably to a slight raising of weight accompanied by an improvement in fineness in the denarius under that The second find consisted of "Antoniniani" Emperor. of the worst period, Gallienus, Claudius and the Gallic Emperors, with a very few later coins. It could not have been buried in A.D. 270, the date to which one would incline at first to attribute it, but must have been at least as late as A.D. 273-4, even supposing the latest coins to be intruders. The almost complete absence of coins after the reform of Aurelian was therefore not due to date, but

to the fact that they were rated differently and ranked as a separate denomination. The Gallic coins were very few in comparison to the Roman and included one or two barbarous imitations, probably nearly contemporary. The third find consisted of bronze of Constantine I and his time, buried, in Jersey, about A.D. 317; the London mint supplied about forty per cent. of the coins.

The President suggested that the last find might be connected with disturbances in Armorica, of which evidence survives in inscriptions.

March 16, 1922.

Prof. Sir Charles Oman, K.B.E., M.P., LL.D., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of February 16 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

- 1. George F. Hill. B. M. Catalogue of Greek Coins: Arabia, Persia, and Mesopotamia; from the Trustees of the British Museum.
 - 2. Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1921, Pt. 2.
- 3. E. T. Seltman. The Temple Coins of Olympia; from the Publishers.
- 4. Alfonso de Troja. Catalogo delle Monete di Lucera; from the Author.

Colonel R. A. Johnson, Deputy-Master of the Royal Mint, and Capt. E. G. Spencer-Churchill, M.C. were elected Fellows of the Society.

Miss Helen Farquhar exhibited a touch-piece of the Elder Pretender with tape attached by which it had been worn.

The President exhibited touch-pieces of the Elder and Young Pretender, bought in Bologna where both long resided.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher exhibited a very fine series of London brokers' badges.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited the pure nickel 5 cents Canada, 1922.

Mr. Lionel M. Hewlett exhibited a pavilion d'or of Edward the Black Prince, first issue, with fleur-de-lis and leopard placed square to the coin instead of to the centre of the cross on the reverse.

Mr. Fredk. A. Harrison exhibited a fine series of silver talers of the Dukes, Electors, and Kings of Saxony, on which he read notes.

Mr. A. B. Triggs exhibited a box die for forging Queen Elizabeth martlet shillings.

Mr. J. H. Pinches exhibited the following three medals by Lady Feodora Gleichen:

1889. Royal Agricultural Society's Show, Windsor. Presented by Queen Victoria. *Obv.* Head of Queen to l., "Victoria Regina et Imperatrix". *Rev.* Ceres holding wreath and wheat-ears, "Windsor A. D. MDCCCLXXXIX.

Nurses' medal, St. Thomas's Hospital. Obv. Florence Nightingale. Rev. Figure suggested by one on the Ludovisi throne and now in the Museo delle Terme.

Proposed badge for nursing, Arte Manuque Ministra, 1918. Kneeling female figure tending wounded man. Cross bandages.

Mr. P. H. Webb showed on behalf of Dr. George Macdonald a cast of a third brass of Carausius found in 1921 at Traprain Law, Haddingtonshire, now in the Scottish National Museum.

Obv. [IMP] (or perhaps IMP C) CARAVSIVS P. F. AVG. Radiate draped bust r.

Rev. [L]AETITIA AVG. Joy seated l., holding r. patera (?), l. sceptre.

This is a new type of Carausius. Mr. Webb had not found a seated figure of Joy on any coin.

Mr. P. H. Webb also showed a bronze coin of Crispina. Size 20 mm., weight 55 grains. Obv. CRISPINA AVGV STA. Draped bust r., hair en chignon. A beautiful portrait. Rev. CONCORDIA. Concord standing l., holding r. patera, l. cornucopiae. Unpublished in bronze.

The style, size, and weight of the coin indicate that it is not a denarius défourré, but a new bronze coin of a denomination not known to have been issued during the reign of Commodus.

Colonel H. W. Morrieson showed the following coins of Lundy Island, 1645-1646, in illustration of Mr. Symond's paper:

Half-crowns. 1645 A over B R. 1645 A on rev. 1646 m. m. plume.

Shillings. 1645 A m. m. on rev. 1646 m. m. plume.

Sixpences. 1645 m.m. A on rev. 1646 m.m. B m.m. pellet.

Groats. 1646 m. m. plume. Threepence, 1645 m. m. pellet. 1646 m. m. plume. $\frac{1}{2}$ Groat, 1646. Penny, no date.

Mr. Percy H. Webb gave an account of an old collection in which he described the origin of his own collection which was begun a century ago by his grandfather with two of his brothers. Interesting notes were read from an old note-book kept by them. Mr. Webb also described some coins recently acquired by him.

Mr. Brooke read a paper by Mr. Henry Symonds on "Civil War coins of British types after September 1645". (This paper was printed in this volume of the *Chronicle*, pp. 140-143.)

APRIL 20, 1922.

Percy H. Webb, Esq., M.B.E., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of March 16 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

- 1. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute, 1919.
- 2. Annual Report of the U.S. National Museum, 1921.
- 3. Archaeologia Cantiana, Vol. xxxi.
- 4. Antiquaries Journal, 1921, Pt. 2.
- 5. British Numismatic Journal, Vol. xv; presented by Miss Helen Farquhar.
- 6. A. Blanchet. Note sur un jeton de Diane de Poitiers; from the Author.
- 7. Harrold E. Gillingham. French Orders; from the American Numismatic Society.
 - 8. Numismatische Zeitschrift, 1921.
- 9. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1920-1921.
- 10. Spink's Numismatic Circular, 1921; from the Publishers.

Dr. A. de Yoanna and Mr. M. H. Krishna Iyengar were proposed for election.

Mr. George F. Hill read a paper by Mr. Victor Tourneur on "The Medallist Steven van Herwijck (Stephen H.)". This paper is printed in this volume of the *Chronicle*, pp. 91-132.)

May 18, 1922.

PROF. SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., LL.D., F.B.A., President. in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of April 20 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

- 1. American Journal of Archaeology, 1921-1922.
- 2. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1920.
- 3. Rivista Italiana, 1922, Pt. 1.
- 4. Revue Numismatique, 1922, Pt. 1.

Dr. A. de Yoanna and Mr. M. H. Krishna Iyengar were elected Fellows of the Society. Mrs. Helen A. Cripps was proposed for election.

Messrs. H. Garside and Leopold Messenger were appointed to audit the Treasurer's account.

The evening was devoted entirely to exhibitions.

Mr. Henry Garside showed the East African ten cent and five cent of 1920 struck in copper-nickel. In 1921 both were coined in copper. He also showed an Australian silver florin, shilling, sixpence, and threepence, and bronze penny and halfpenny, all dated 1921. The shilling has a five pointed star above the date, and the threepence M (Melbourne) below the date. The others have no mintmark.

Mr. Frederick A. Harrison showed a fine double taler of Brunswick-Lüneburg and a series of tokens and coins of Australia.

Mr. William Gilbert showed a medal of the West and East Ham Volunteers, and read the following note:

This is one of the old Volunteer medals, many of which were issued about this period. It is a struck, silver plated medal $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diam. The specimen exhibited is in fine condition for a plated medal. Its description is as follows:

Obv.—A volunteer at attention, behind him two trees and a church. Legend: THE LOYAL UNITED WEST AND EAST HAM VOLUNTEERS. In the exergue: ASSOCIATED MAY 18 1798.

Rev.—The armorial bearings of Sir John Henniker between the colours of the regiment. Motto: DEUS MAJOR COLUMNA. A Greek motto above. The whole surrounded by the legend: FOR PRESERVATION OF INTERNAL PEACE OUR KING AND CONSTITUTION. In the exergue: PRESENTED BY SR. IOHN HENNIKER BT. STRATFORD HOUSE ESSEX 1799.

Edge: - Engraved EDWARD BURNETT. 1st. COMPANY.

Sir John Henniker, Bart., who in 1880 was created Lord Henniker of the Kingdom of Ireland, had a seat named Stratford House in Stratford Grove, in the parish of West Ham, Essex. He was lord of the Manor of West Ham, and died April 18th, 1803.

Miss Helen Farquhar showed a case containing a miniature and twenty-three medals and two coins of Charles II arranged by Mr. Broadley in illustration of his book *The Royal Miracle*.

Miss Farquhar also exhibited four so-called pattern coins of Charles I by Briot—more probably intended for medals—as their abnormal weights suggested.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed a fine series of denarii from Julius Caesar to Elagabalus to illustrate portraiture.

Sir Charles Oman showed a series of obsidional coins of Spain struck during the Peninsular War.

Mr. Fredk. A. Walters, F.S.A., showed a medallion of Gordianus Pius.

Obv. IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FELIX AVG. Rev. ADLOCYTIO AVGVSTI.

Mr. H. W. Taffs showed a specimen of the South Australian gold £1 ingot of the Adelaide Assay Office, a New South Wales fifteenpence, 1813; the Hogarth, Erichsen & Co. threepenny; and a series of Spanish coins countermarked for various colonies.

Mr. F. Willson Yeates sent for exhibition an engraved love token relating to New South Wales, on which he contributed the following note:

Obv.—Under a tree, on the sea-shore, a naval officer (? English) is taking leave of a lady. In the foreground are eight sheep, a cow, and a horse, and behind the officer the initials $^{\rm F}_{\rm SN}$. On the sea a man is rowing a small boat to the shore from a large sailing ship. An outer ornamental border.

Rev.—The initials SN in a heart-shaped shield which has a border inscribed NEW SOUTH WALES. Over the shield a crest (a stag's head erased) with festoons of flowers on either side of the shield, and below crossed palm branches. An outer ornamental border inscribed L'AMOUR ET L'AMITIE.

The whole engraved on a copper blank, size 1.35 inches, of which the obverse shows signs of having been plated.

Engraved love tokens more or less similar to that exhibited were common in England in the second half of the eighteenth century. They were made by rubbing smooth a coin usually of copper and engraving the surface with an appropriate design and motto. These tokens were very frequently given by sailors to their lady loves on leaving for a voyage. They also were given by convicts about to be transported. One of the commonest mottoes is, "When this you see remember me."

The exhibited token is of especial interest in that it relates to New South Wales. The initials $^{F}_{SN}$ are in a peculiar position on the obverse, and it will be noticed that the initials S.N. also occur on the shield on the reverse. The date of the token would appear to be about 1790, and the ship may have been used for transporting the convicts to Botany Bay. The French motto is also very interesting, and leaves a wide field open for speculation as to the origin of the token.

The token is both larger and thinner than the usual love tokens made before 1797 (the date of the issue of the broad rimmed Twopence and Penny). The traces of plating on the obverse are curious. It is hardly likely that the plating was done in New South Wales, a silver coin would be more likely to have been used than a plated one.

June 15, 1922.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

PROF. SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., LL.D., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of June 16, 1921, were read and approved.

Messrs. G. C. Haines and W. H. Valentine were appointed scrutineers of the Ballot for the election of office-bearers for the following year.

Mrs. Helen Augusta Cripps was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The following Report of the Council was laid before the Society:

"The Council have again the honour to lay before you the Annual Report on the state of the Royal Numismatic Society.

It is with deep regret that they have to announce the deaths of the following eleven Fellows of the Society:

Admiral of the Fleet, the Marquess of Milford Haven, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., F.R.G.S., &c.

Arthur A. Banes, Esq.

Thomas Bearman, Esq.

Colonel J. Biddulph.

Colonel A. Price Blackwood, D.S.O.

M. Longworth Dames, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.), M.R.A.S.

T. Nesmith, Esq.

Maurice Rosenheim, Esq., F.S.A.

Lt.-Col. John Glas Sandeman, M.V.O., F.S.A.

Rev. George S. Streatfeild.

Robert Lloyd Woollcombe, Esq., LL.D., &c.

They have also to announce the resignations of the following seven Fellows:

Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, M.A., F.S.A. Sir John W. Cawston, K.C.B. M. Arthur Engel.
Prof. H. F. Newall, F.R.S.
C. R. Peers, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
Godfrey F. Thorpe, Esq.

On the other hand they have to announce the election of the following ten new Fellows:

Rev. Jeremiah Zimmermann.

Mrs. Helen Augusta Cripps.
Harrold E. Gillingham, Esq.
M. H. Krishna Iyengar, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S.
M. R. Jameson.
Colonel R. A. Johnson.
Arthur H. Lloyd, Esq.
Richard B. Seager, Esq.
Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill, M.C.
A. de Yoanna, Esq., B.A., M.D.
The Curator of the Lucknow Museum.

The number of Fellows is therefore:

June, 1921 . Since elected	•	• •	•	Ordinary. . 284 . 10	Honorary, 13	Total. 297 10
				294	13	30 7
Deceased Resigned	•	•	•	. 11		11 7
				276	13	289

The Council have also to announce that they have decided to award the Society's Medal this year to Mr. Fredk. A. Walters, F.S.A., in recognition of his services to the study of English coins."

The Honorary Treasurer's Report, which follows, was then laid before the Meeting:

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSE-

FROM JUNE 1st, 1921,

Dr.		T	HE R	OYAL	Numis	MAT	te S	OCIETY	IN	Ac	COUN
					£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
To cost of Chronicle-	-							11 T 11			
Printing .			. ,	•	411	.3	0				
Plates			•		13	16	0				
					-			424	19	0	
,, Rent, &c			•	•			٠.	5 0	0	0	
,, Refreshments, &c.	•		•	•	•			8	14	1	
" Insurance .							•	1	10	0	
" Sundry Payments				•		•	•	16	11	4	
								£501	14	5	
"Balance—											
General Accoun	t.				93	15	5				
Research Accoun	nt .				28	2	2				
								121	17	7	
								-			

MENTS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY TO MAY 31st, 1922.

TTTTTTTT	DEDOTE	LI	Wrnn	LIAN	TREASURER.
WILLII	LENUL	11.	WEBB,	mon.	I HEADURER.

Cr.

										1
					£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Balance in hand—										
General Account				٠,	137	12	8			
Research Account		•		٠.	26	14	2			
						<u> </u>		164	6	10
By Subscriptions—										
Ordinary Subscriptions					307	3	9			
1 Life Subscription					31	10	0			
9 Entrance Fees					9	9	0			
							_	348	2	9
By Donations								2	1	0
,, Sales of Chronicles, &c				٠.			٠.	82	13	11
,, Dividends on Investments .								26	7	6
(£942 Consol. 4% Pref. Stock Western Railway)	of t	he Lo	ndon	ı a	nd I	Vor	th			
								£623	10	0

PERCY H. WEBB, Hon. Treasurer.

Audited and found correct,

LEOPOLD G. P. MESSENGER, Hon. Auditors.

June 10, 1922.

The Reports of the Council and of the Treasurer were adopted on the motion of the President.

Sir Charles Oman then presented the Society's Medal to Mr. Fredk. A. Walters, and addressed him as follows:

It is one of the happy characteristics of the recent history of the Society that it finds itself in the proud position of counting so many distinguished members on its list, that it has no reason to go far afield, and search for savants in distant lands, when the question arises in successive summers of awarding its medal for distinguished services to Numismatic science.

In 1920, and again in 1921, we were able to find among our own ranks writers who had advanced knowledge in such a marked fashion, that there was no doubt whatever that they had earned the mark of distinction by which the Royal Numismatic Society signifies its appreciation of research. It is again my pleasant task to deliver to a constant attendant of our meetings, and a regular contributor to our Chronicle, the badge of Numismatic Merit.

I believe, Mr. Walters, that you joined our Association in 1897, so that you have now been one of us for a quarter of a century. And unlike too many of your colleagues, among whom I grieve to have to number myself, you started writing for the Chronicle soon after your election. and have kept your pen busy with perfect regularityeighteen important papers having been communicated by you during the last twenty years. While not forgetting that you have once or twice favoured us with papers of high interest on ancient Roman coins, the love of your later years, I think that I may say that we are awarding you the Medal this day for your long-sustained researches on the history of the English coinage from the time of Edward III to that of Henry VIII. On this period you have by your numerous contributions provided us with what comes to something like a continuous history of the period. Indeed, the series of papers only require a certain

amount of adaptation and linking up in order to make them into a complete book—a chronicle of the coinage from the first coming in of the Groat and the Noble down to the general reconstruction of types, weights, and denominations which distinguished the reign of Henry VIII, when we are left with the sovereign and the shilling as the dominating features of the currency, instead of those old third-parts of them which had been the characteristic English issues of the fourteenth century.

You have rearranged for us the very imperfect classification of Hawkins, to which no one who has read your papers on the Henries and Edwards will afterwards make any reference: you have discovered and published for us a number of hitherto unknown varieties and denominations, and have made a logical series out of what was a chaos or a succession of doubts. Even the "dark reign of Henry IV" as you truly called it, was made comparatively clear by your careful and minute arrangement of "mules". and transitionary pieces. Only those who have read your papers with minute attention can properly estimate the amount of meticulous comparisons and of ingenious hypotheses which you have taken in hand. And your judgement in accepting some of the possible deductions from them, and rejecting others, has approved itself to many an interested reader. The whole groat series, from its first commencement down to the adoption of the imperial crown by Henry VII, has such a tiresome uniformity of type that no casual and perfunctory methods of dealing with it are possible. Many collectors turned back appalled by the problem: you were a pioneer in the art of differentiation. It is by the minute study of tiny detailsstops, the forms of letters, slightly varied mint-marks, the slope of a king's shoulder or the abundance or moderation of his locks, that conclusions have to be reached. We look to you for one further paper on the Calais coins, for a trifle more on the later coinages of Henry VIII, and then a juxtaposition of all your works will give us a complete manual on two centuries of a most difficult and interesting coinage. I trust that the medal, which I have much pleasure in handing over, may lure you away for a moment from your recent Roman studies, and induce you to make one final effort of co-ordination, which may give us your many contributions to the pages of our *Chronicle* condensed into a formal book, which will serve as the guide of many generations of collectors of the Plantagenet and Tudor currencies.

In reply Mr. Walters said:

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

I am deeply sensible of the honour conferred upon me by the award of this medal, and I desire to express my gratitude to you and the Council for considering me not unworthy to be associated with the far more distinguished names with which it has been connected in the past.

Without wishing to affect too great humility I feel it my duty to express my indebtedness to previous writers, particularly to Ruding, from whose volumes-although written more than a century since—I was able to draw so much. Also to other noted writers in the past, including Sainthill, Longstaffe, Neck, and others. If, with this assistance to start with, I have been able to carry a little farther the study of the coinages of our later Plantagenet kings, I shall be proud to feel that I have helped ever so little in the advancement of numismatic science. It is a pleasing duty to recall what one owes to others, and I was impressed in the early days of my connexion with the Society by a remark of Sir John Evans in one of his annual addresses, when in referring to a deceased member -I forget who-he said that, not the least of his merits was that in all he wrote he made a point of studying what others had previously written on the same subject.

The President has spoken of my "new love" in regard to Roman coins, but really it is my oldest love, as I have collected and studied them with the greatest interest from my boyhood, and although I have not ventured to write much in connexion with that field of numismatics I should like to think that in a humble way I may have been able to be of some little assistance to those who, like Mr. Sydenham and Mr. Mattingly, are doing such great and valuable work in this sphere.

The President then delivered the following address:

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Our obituary list is unhappily a very heavy one, including eleven names, far over the average. The first loss that I must chronicle is that of our most distinguished British member-Admiral of the Fleet the Marquess of Milford Haven-better remembered by most of us as Prince Louis of Battenberg, whose long and honourable naval career from 1868, when he entered the Royal Navy as midshipman, to 1912-14 when he became first Sea Lord of the Admiralty. extended over nearly half a century, and covered the marvel-Ious expansion of the British fleet before the Great War from end to end. He saw much active service, was commanderin-chief of the Atlantic fleet for the last two years of his sea-life, and was one of those most responsible for the readiness in which the Navy was found at the outbreak of the last great struggle. He was a strenuous collector of naval decorations, joined our Society in 1909, and published two volumes of a magnificent work on Naval Medals, which superseded all earlier books of the kind.

Colonel John Glas Sandeman was one of our most senior members, having joined the Society as far back as 1877—so that he was with us for forty-five years. He joined the 1st Royal Dragoons in 1853, and served with them as a subaltern throughout the Crimean War, being probably the last surviving officer of the famous Charge of the Heavy Brigade, under General Scarlett, at the battle of Balaclava. After leaving the army he was colonel of the Essex Yeomanry Cavalry for many years. He wrote several archaeological monographs, and was a collector of Greek

and Roman coins all his life. But I believe that he only once contributed to our *Chronicle*, when in 1886 he gave us a note on a gold offering-bezant of King James I.

A member senior even to Colonel Sandeman in our list was the Rev. G. S. Streatfeild, a Fellow since 1869, and a collector of Roman coins. I believe that he was almost the *doyen* of our membership—having joined even before Sir Arthur Evans, Professor Gardner, and Mr. Grueber, who all go back to 1871–2.

Mr. M. Longworth Dames, I.C.S., who had been with us since 1884, was a distinguished Indian Civil Servant, and a well-known Orientalist—a recognized authority on Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and a prominent member of the Royal Asiatic Society, to whose journal he was a frequent contributor. He was also an authority on folk-lore, and edited several texts for the Hakluyt Society. He wrote for the Society several excellent, but all too infrequent, articles on the coins of the Durrani Kings of Kabul and the Moghul Emperors.

Colonel Albemarle Blackwood was one of our most distinguished military members. He joined the Border Regiment in 1901, saw service in South Africa during his first year in the army, and in the Great War of 1914 obtained his Lieutenant-Colonelcy and the D.S.O. He died early this year in India of heart failure, the result of overwork in 1919–20, when he had been Chief of the Staff to General Denekin, at the head of the White Army, which made such a strenuous attempt to preserve the southern parts of European Russia from the Bolshevists. He had joined the Society when a lieutenant in 1904, and was a faithful adherent to its studies.

Colonel John Biddulph, elected in 1909, seldom attended our meetings, but had a very fine collection of English and Oriental coins. He was a military historian, and wrote the chronicle of his old regiment, the 19th Hussars.

On the other hand we deplore in Mr. A. A. Banes and Mr. T. Bearman, both elected in 1898, two most regular visitors to our monthly gatherings. Both served a term

on our Council, and were frequent exhibitors of curiosa. Mr. Bearman had a very fine collection of Scottish coins, and a great knowledge of that series.

Mr. Maurice Rosenheim, F.S.A., brother of our late member, Mr. Max Rosenheim, shared his tastes, and had a magnificent collection of Italian Renaissance medals. I believe that his only contribution to the columns of the *Chronicle* was a paper on a medal of Lorenz Staiber, communicated in 1918.

It is undoubtedly this very heavy list of eleven losses by death which has done most to produce the slight decrease in our numbers visible in the membership-list of 1922. The number of new members elected has been quite up to the average, nor has that of resignations been in any way abnormal. In the most peaceful and prosperous days of old we always lost a certain annual percentage in this fashion. That it is no greater in this time of severe financial stress for the cultured and professional classes is a most encouraging sign.

Our meetings have been well attended—the show of rare or interesting pieces by members has never been so good, and the recently introduced practice of inviting specialists to bring down a selection of pieces to illustrate the paper to be read by another specialist, has proved a decided success.

The rediscovery of the long-lost signature book of the Society, which came to light at its move to Russell Square in 1921, has enabled us to re-establish the good old custom of getting each new member to enrol himself by his own handwriting in our membership. May I implore any old member who does not chance to have signed this interesting old book, which the Secretary has at his disposition, to do so before he quits the room to-day. It is deplorable that this archive was so long mislaid, and we must do our best to bring it up to date. It is sad that so many distinguished names might have figured in it, and by an unfortunate accident do not.

I think that I may say that the Society continues to

flourish—the recent rise in the figure of its subscription does not seem to have deterred the joining of new members. The monthly meetings have been well attended, and the exhibitions of coins at them have been of over the average in numbers and interest.

There is only one point on which I must confess that I do not feel quite satisfied—the size and general appearance of the Chronicle. One had hoped that the general fall in prices of all commodities, which has been the distinguishing economic feature of the past year, would have penetrated to the printing trade. In my last address I expressed a hope that it might soon be felt to our benefit. On the whole we have been somewhat disappointed; you will have noticed that we have made little progress toward the restoration of the former bulk of the Chronicle, and the resumption of its ancient wealth of illustration. We are now getting only twice a year what used to come four times, and the double part of 1921 is not appreciably larger than the single part of-say-1913. The illustrations are not only much fewer than of old, but also (to my taste) not so satisfactory-look for example at the black shadows round each coin, in the illustrations to the find of money of Stephen which was issued to us last week, in the new number of our journal.

As far as I can make out, we must trace the enormous rise in printing costs which has driven us to our present condition entirely to the extortionate demands of labour. The Compositors' Union has refused to take any practical measures to face the situation, preferring apparently to have about a third of its members out of work, while the rest continue to receive war-wages, and thereby to prevent the public from using the press as it used. Every other trade, practically, has faced the situation, and consented to large reductions. Those in the printing trade have been insignificant, some 5s. down at last on wages that are now more than double those of 1914. It is obvious that the learned societies have to reduce their activities in printing, since its price has become prohibitive. We had, as you re-

member, to leave our old printers simply because of their enhanced charges. Our new ones are, I believe a tride less extortionate, but even so the cost of the Chronicle remains a crushing burden to the Society. The serious thing is that we depend for our revenue much more on our outlying members than on those who are able to use our rooms, and to attend our meetings. And it is obvious that we are giving them in the Chronicle of to-day a much smaller volume than the Chronicle of 1914, at a much enhanced price. I confess that I dread a gradual slacking off in our country membership. if our publication continues to remain so slender. The educated and professional classes from whom we recruit ourselves are hard put to it financially: the longer that the Chronicle retains its present diminutive shape, the more will our old members feel that they are not getting their money's worth, and the more reluctant will outsiders be to join a society which seems to give so little return for its enhanced subscription.

I know that there is a heroic remedy-several learned societies have, to my knowledge, commenced to print their proceedings in France or Switzerland, or even in Vienna. The results are as satisfactory to the eye as the English printing—the price about half that charged in London. I must confess to feeling a great reluctance to take into consideration the changing of our place of printing to any foreign soil. But if we are pressed to the desperate choice between ceasing to publish any adequate proceedings, and printing them abroad, I know which way my vote would be given. It is monstrous that any English Union should try to escape the common burden of post-war poverty, by exercising a tyrannous monopoly on those who wish to utilize its services. Publishers tell me that the explanation of this long holding up of prices is that the greater newspapers have such a dread of finding themselves involved in a strike, and having to cease publication for a few days, that they refuse to enter into a general agreement with the other printing firms to administer an ultimatum to the extortionate Unions. I can assure them that the public

feels no sympathy with their selfish submission to irrational demands, wholly unjustified by the general financial situation of the country. Nor can I imagine that any one would find himself very seriously incommoded, if he were forced to abandon for a few days his normal post-breakfast perusal of his particular party journal. If I could but secure four issues of the *Numismatic Chronicle* per annum, I could hardly overstate the number of daily issues of *The Times* which I should be prepared to forego.

As to our currency, you will remember that I endeavoured last year to bring pressure on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to restore the original purity of the metal of our so-called silver coinage, now that the marked price of silver bullion had fallen back to 34 pence or 36 pence per ounce. He refused to be moved: nor has his successor this year shown any more signs of yielding, though I submitted to his private eve that selection of ill-struck, discoloured, and disintegrated florins and half-crowns which I exhibited at one of the meetings of this Society. Sir Robert Horne made no attempt to deny that they were a disreputable collection. but seemed to think that sufficient had been done to answer the complaint if the new coinage of 1922 was prepared from a less nauseous mixture, which did not decay so rapidly or discolour so flagrantly as the issues of 1920 and 1921. I am bound to say that there has been some small improvement in this respect—the very unsatisfactory nickel mixture of 1920 having been replaced by another alloy containing some copper and (I believe experimentally) a little manganese. The new issue seems to turn a pale yellow after much use. instead of brown or green like its predecessor. This may be some slight amelioration, but the fact remains that the currency still makes a very poor effect-it certainly contrasts very unfavourably in appearance with some colonial issues-e.g. those of Canada, in which a twenty per cent. instead of a fifty per cent. adulteration of the old standard is now prevailing.

It is a melancholy fact to note that on the continent only a few countries, like Spain and Switzerland, still produce

a currency which it is a pleasure to see and handle. France has introduced base metal 1 franc and 2 franc pieces which make no pretension to be silver. The other states seem to be lapsing into the permanent use of paper for even the smallest denomination above the fractional copper or billon small-change. If the majority of the European states actually abandon silver for good, I cannot but think that it is a serious blow to us numismatists. Not only will it be impossible to keep up the series of metal coins in collections, but the whole art of die-sinking will die out, and the continuity of an art that goes back to Croesus and Pheidon will be brought to an end. I should be sorry to think of coin-study as a pursuit connected only with an extinct class of objects-like the Battersea snuff-boxes or Japanese tsubas with which some collectors like to fill their cabinets. This may still seem a danger of the far future—but as things are going at present it is at least a danger that can be conceived. Before the Great War it would have been an absolutely inconceivable nightmare. The only bright point which I can find in the present situation of the British currency, is that the Deputy-Master of the Mint, who came into office at the commencement of the present year, is a loval member of our own Society, and interested from the historical no less than from the economic point of view in the study of coins. Colonel Robert Johnson is a very old friend of my own,-he took the Oxford History School with the highest honours, and can sympathize with the numismatist and his research in a way that no Chancellor of the Exchequer has ever done. Colonel Johnson's interests lie much in the direction of medallic art, and we are in some hope that his influence may lead to a development of the medal-department of the mint. which has so long been neglected-with the result that when official medals must be produced, they have in recent years been so very unsatisfactory as works of art. When one reflects on the activities of the Paris mint in this direction, one cannot but feel that the London mint, under judicious management, would have a great career before it

in future. Meanwhile, when medallic art is encouraged at the mint, perhaps we may be fortunate enough to get rid of the very unsatisfactory portrait of our gracious sovereign, which at the present time does anything but adorn the currency issued to his loyal subjects.

On Greek coins we have not, this year, been fortunate enough to secure any of those monographs on the currency of a city, a king, a period, or a dynasty, for which the Chronicle was once famous. But we have published two valuable papers by the Keeper of the Coins in the British Museum, one of which deals with the acquisitions of the National Cabinet in the preceding year. It gives us a number of very interesting new pieces—the most notable an Athenian decadrachm of the so-called "Marathon" type -a most glorious and beautiful piece of archaic art, which supersedes for ever in illustrated books the well-known decadrachm with the gash across the face which was so familiar to us. This specimen is in admirable condition. and should be given a respectful visit by every collector of Greek coins. It seems to be the ninth known decadrachm in the world-London has now two specimens, Paris and Berlin one each. It is sad to have to add that the abominable Christodulos has recently produced some most deceptive imitations of this great historic piece which might deceive the very elect!

An unpublished coin is the curious first-century silver piece of king Inensimeus of Olbia—a sovereign who could not spell his own name, as on the other silver piece of him hitherto known he called himself Inismeus. It is certainly not beautiful—but has its interest. Another dynast makes his first appearance in the Museum in the person of Krūna, a fifth-century Lycian king, who gives a good portrait of himself in a Phrygian cap on his new didrachm. The Museum should have a larger display for us in its next annual summary of acquisitions, from the immense acquisition of Bactrian silver which it has just been fortunate enough to acquire.

Mr. Hill's other paper, published in the number of the

Chronicle which has just reached our hands this week, deals with "Ancient Methods of Coining", and gives a lucid account of the simple machinery of ancient mints—Greek and Roman—with an explanation of how each of the many mistakes made by the primitive moneyer—double striking, "brockages", overlapping of types, blank reverses, &c., were possible. Perhaps the most interesting, and convincing, paragraphs in the article are those which prove that several dies were often sunk into one anvil, so close to each other that a careless blow might produce very odd results. Another curious discovery is the way in which certain types of coins owe their peculiarity of shape to the fact that they were struck from a globular instead of a flat "blank" or "flan". This caused the little side excrescences very common on many Sicilian issues.

As a sort of by-product from Mr. Hill's general paper on dies we have some curious notes by Mr. Milne on the way in which Greek dies were sometimes recut, and utilized for cities which did not originally own them.

With regard to Roman coins, Mr. Percy Webb's paper on "Roman Mints of the Third Century" was printed after the delivery of my 1921 address, but had been delivered before it, so that I had already dealt with it at some length last year. It was satisfactory to have it at last in print, so that one could brood over the problem of Ticinum versus Tarraco at leisure. I suppose that, on his advice, we must surrender the Spanish mint in favour of a second Italian one. Gaul and Carthage may have satisfied the needs of the Iberian Peninsula.

We have two records of finds of Roman coins—one quite small, but typical of many such hoards found in the south-western counties of England—fifty-three siliquae found at Dorchester and reported by Mr. Mattingly. They range straight through from Julian to Honorius—every emperor represented save Flavius Victor and Eugenius. The frequency of such silver finds of the latest years of the fourth century in England, and their rarity in all other parts of Europe was commented upon by Sir Arthur Evans ten years ago,

in his paper on the Mint of Londinium Augusta. Why all the siliquae of the Empire gravitated to Britain about 390-410, just before the final collapse of the Roman Empire in this island, remains a standing puzzle. The other and much larger find is less interesting to us as coming from another country. Spain-but seems as typical there as silimae hoards are to Wessex. It is that of 617 Roman republican denarii found in the province of Jaen-and reported by Mr. Horace Sandars—since alas deceased. series ends abruptly with a number of coins of the years 94-92 B.C. Obviously therefore it has something to do with the great civil war in which the Roman renegadegeneral Sertorius defended the cause of Spanish independence against Metellus and Pompey for so many years. It fits in exactly with six other Andalusian finds, in each of which the last coin, as Mr. Sandars points out, dates from some year between 92 and 89. Clearly there was widespread coin-burying going on during this long strife, and the concealer of the hoard seldom returned to dig it up. Presumably the same was the case with the Somersetshire. Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire deposits of siliquae spoken of above.

One more Roman contribution to the Chronicle deserves a special word of notice,-Mr. Mattingly's most plausible and ingenious suggestion that certain coins of Galba in all metals, probably from Lugdunum, were struck after his death as a sort of "consecrationary" issue by Vespasian. Certainly these series are very different in fabric from Galba's early Spanish coinage, and from his earlier Roman pieces. And certainly the practice of striking definitely "consecrationary" coins to a revered predecessor was not quite thoroughly established as yet. An interesting discussion followed on this paper-Mr. Sydenham raising the question whether Vespasian would have made use, for the issue of these coins, of the mint of a city which, like Lugdunum, had been consistently opposed to the commemorated emperor during his short reign. The question remains matter for further argument.

In mediaeval papers we have not been very prolific during the past session, but Mr. Lawrence has given us a paper on a hoard of coins of Stephen found many years back at South Kyme, but preserved intact in the hands of the landowner till to-day. The interest in the hoard was that it contained an enormous proportion—53 out of 300—of coins of the mint of Lincoln, the nearest place of issue to the find-spot. As they were not all fresh from the mint, the deduction is clear that coins did not travel very far, and might remain for a good many years in close proximity to their place of parentage. There were six "PERERIC" coins in the hoard—five of them from Lincoln,—one of the Empress Matilda, and one of a doubtful Henry—either Henry II as Count or Henry of Scotland. Altogether it was a very representative little find.

One other English monograph is a short paper by Mr. Symonds tending to prove that the 1645-6 dated coins of Charles I which show a great similarity to his Bristol issues, but were issued after that city had fallen into the hands of the Parliamentarians, must belong not to the old attribution-Lundy Island-which is really a most unlikely guess-but to Barnstaple and Appledore, which the Royalist army of the West maintained long after the fall of The letter B might have served for the name of the mint-master Bushell, who was certainly in person on Lundy. But A cannot possibly be attributed to that island, and the A and B coins obviously belong to the same issue. Whether Axminster or some other west country town would be a possible alternative for Appledore remains to be considered. There were certainly other towns beginning with A in Royalist hands in the winter of 1645-6.

A most important paper on a famous Renaissance maker of portrait medals is contributed by M. Victor Tourneur. It identifies beyond all doubt the real name and character of the author of a series of wonderful portraits of English people, small and great, all dating from the years 1562-3. They range from the Marquis of Northampton and the Earl of Pembroke down to the wives of London merchants of

small note. All are signed STE H., from which Horace Walpole made an artist Stephen of Holland, whose name has survived in catalogues down to this day. The same signature is found on medals of exactly similar work portraying a number of notables of Antwerp and Utrecht, and two smaller groups of Polish and Italian personages. M. Tourneur has now discovered in the archives of the city of Antwerp a medallist named Steven van Herwijck, whose date exactly suits that of the portraits, and whose passport to visit England in 1564 was granted with some difficulty by the authorities of his place of residence. Most satisfactorily is this corroborated by the appearance in the register of aliens domiciled in London of a "Stephen Vanharwick", cutter of stones for rings, with a wife and two sons. The identification is made absolutely certain by the fact that the Vanharwicks are recorded as lodging in the house of John Dymmocke, a merchant; and a medal of a certain Mary, wife of John Dymocke, is one of the signed works of STE. H. Clearly he made it to oblige his landlord's wife-or possibly to discharge his rent. No proof could be more convincing, and M. Tourneur must receive the congratulation of any numismatist on the happy result of his conscientious search in Belgian and London archives. How many hours of toil must have been spent in looking through the pages of crabbed manuscript in which the name of Steven did not appear, before the final reward was obtained! He seems to have been an interesting persona refugee for the sake of religion, for he undoubtedly left Antwerp to avoid the beginnings of persecution, and established himself for good in London, where his widow and sons lived many years, regular attendants at the Dutch Protestant Church in Austin Friars.

I should probably pass on from contributions to the Chronicle by our members to mention books produced by them—notably Mr. Hill's volume of the B. M. Catalogue of Greek Coins, which takes us over the Eastern realms—Elymais, Susiana, and the various Arabian dynasties. Most readers will find themselves introduced to a number of

monarchs for the first time, as they turn over the pages of this fine volume, for Attambeluses and Kamnaskireses have been multiplying of late. Some of the former, particularly the first king of that name, produced tetradrachms of a very fair style—far superior to the rude later issues by which only the dynasty was hitherto known. I must also mention the volume of Mr. Seltman's Coins of Olympia and Elis, with its admirable illustrations—a great pleasure to the student of Greek art. So large and well arranged a sequence of these beautiful coins had never been seen before.

One more record of a book—not in any way connected with the Society—must end my annual screed. Professor Svoronos has just published a useful, if rather expensive, illustrated pamphlet, which has caused many of us to shiver. It is the record of the forgeries of that famous criminal Christodulos, whose dies and tools were seized by the Greek government when he went to jail. A thousand of his ingenious productions are figured. Many of them are so plausible that they have been already detected in collections of the highest respectability. Long may their author be restrained from a resumption of his old activities!

Mr. Frederick A. Harrison proposed a vote of thanks to the President for his address. The result of the ballot for office-bearers for 1922–1923 was announced as follows:

President.

PROFESSOR SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., F.B.A.

Vice-Presidents.

SIR ARTHUR J. EVANS, P.S.A., M.A., D.LITT., LL.D., Ph.D., F.R.S., F.B.A.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A.

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Secretaries.

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Foreign Secretary.

George Francis Hill, Esq., M.A., F.B.A.

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L. A. LAWRENCE, Esq., F.S.A.

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GEORGE C. BROOKE, Esq., M.A.

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LADY EVANS, M.A. (Oxon).

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WILLIAM GILBERT, Esq., M.S.A.

FREDERICK A. HARRISON, Esq., F.Z.S.

LIONEL M. HEWLETT, Esq.

HAROLD MATTINGLY, Esq., M.A.

LEOPOLD G. P. MESSENGER, Esq.

FREDERICK A. WALTERS, Esq., F.S.A.

The President then proposed a vote of thanks to the Auditors and Scrutineers of the ballot, and adjourned the Society till October.